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MEMORIALS
OF
EDINBURGH
IN THE OLDEN TIME.

BY
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Volume II.

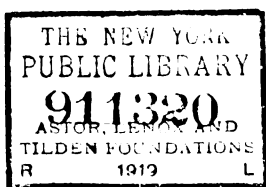


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MEMORIALS
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EDINBURGH IN THE OLDEN TIME.

CHAPTER V.

THE HIGH STREET.



OWING to the peculiar site of the Scottish capital, no extension of the old town beyond its early limits has in any degree detracted from the importance of its most ancient thoroughfare, which extends under different names, from the Palace to the Castle, and may be regarded as of antiquity coeval with the earliest fortifications of the citadel to which it leads. Alongside of this roadway, on the summit of the sloping ridge, the rude huts of the early Caledonians were constructed, and the first parish church of St Giles reared, so early, it is believed, as the ninth century.¹ Fynes Moryson, an English traveller, who visited

Edinburgh in the year 1598, thus describes it:—"From the King's Pallace at the east, the city still riseth higher and higher towards the west, and consists especially of one broad and very faire street,—which is the greatest part and sole ornament thereof,—the rest of the side streetes and allies, being of poore building, and inhabited with very poore people."² We may add, however, to his concluding remark, the more accurate observation of the eccentric traveller, Taylor, the water-poet, who visited the Scottish capital a few years later, and shows

VIGNETTE. Common Seal of the City of Edinburgh, from a charter dated A.D. 1565. Vide p. 73, vol. i. for the Counter Seal.

¹ Arnot, p. 268.

² Itinerary, London, 1617. Bann. Mis. vol. ii. p. 393.

his greater familiarity with its internal features, by describing "many by-lanes and closes on each side of the way, wherein are gentlemen's houses, much fairer than the buildings in the High Street, for in the High Street the merchants and tradesmen do dwell, but the gentlemen's mansions, and goodliest houses, are obscurely founded in the aforesaid lanes."

The preceding chapter is chiefly devoted to some of the more ancient and peculiar features of this street. Yet strictly speaking, while every public thoroughfare is styled in older writs and charters "the King's High Street," the name was only exclusively applied to that portion extending from the Nether Bow to Creech's Land, until the demolition of the middle row, when the Luckenbooths, and even a portion of the Lawnmarket, were assumed as part of it, and designated by the same name.

Here was the battle-field of Scotland for centuries, whereon private and party feuds, the jealousies of the nobles and burghers, and not a few of the contests between the Crown and the people, were settled at the point of the sword. In the year 1515, it was the scene of the bloody fray known by the name of "Cleanse the Causey," which did not terminate until the narrow field of contest was strewn with the dead bodies of the combatants, and the Earl of Arran, and Cardinal Beaton, narrowly escaped with their lives.¹ Other, and scarcely less bloody affrays occurred, during the reign of James V., on the same spot, while in that of his hapless daughter, it was for years the chief scene of civil strife, where rival factions fought for mastery. In 1571, the King's Parliament, summoned by the Regent Lennox, assembled at the head of the Canongate, above St John's Cross, which bounded "the freedom of Edinburgh," while the Queen's Parliament sat in the Tolbooth, countenanced in their assumption of the Royal name, by the presence of the ancient Scottish Regalia, *the honours* of the kingdom; and the battle for Scotland's crown and liberties fiercely raged in the narrow space that intervened between these rival assemblies.

But the private feuds of the Scottish nobles and chiefs, were the most frequent subjects of conflict on the High Street of the capital, and, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many a bold baron and hardy retainer perished there, adding fresh fuel to the deadly animosity of rival clans, but otherwise exciting no more notice at the time than an ordinary street squabble would now do. It was in one of these *tulzies*, alluded to in the Lay of the Last Minstrel, that Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh was slain, in the year 1551,²

When the streets of High Dunedin,
Saw lances gleam and falchions redden,
And heard the slogan's deadly yell.

Neither the accession of James VI., nor the attainment of his majority, exercised much influence in checking these encounters on the streets of the capital. "Many enormities were committed," says Calderwood, "as if there had been no King in Israell." The following may suffice as a sample:—"Upon the seventh of Januar 1591, the King comming down the street of Edinburgh from the Tolbuith, the Duke of Lennox, accompanied with the Lord Hume, following a little space behind, pulled out their swords, and invaded the Laird of Logie. The King fled into a crosse-head, and incontinent retired to a Skinner's

¹ Ante, p. 37.

² "In this zeir all wes at guid rest, exceptand the Laird of Cesfurd and Fernyhirst with thair complices slew Schir Walter Scott, laird of Balcleweche, in Edinburgh, quha was ane valzeand guid knyght." Diurn. of Occ. 1551, p. 51.

booth, where it is said he shook for feare."¹ The sole consequence of this lawless act of violence, was the exclusion of the chief actors from court for a short time; and only six days thereafter, the Earl of Bothwell deliberately took by force out of the Tolbooth, the chief witness in a case then pending before the court, at the very time that the King was sitting in the same building along with the Lords of Session.² The unfortunate witness was dragged by his captors to Crichton Castle, and there schooled into a more satisfactory opinion of the case in question, under the terror of the gallows.

The ancient Cross which stood in the High Street has been frequently alluded to, and some of the most remarkable events described, of which it was the scene. It was alike the theatre of festivals and executions; garnished at one period with rich hangings, and flowing with wine for the free use of the populace, and at another overshadowed by the Maiden, and hung only with the reversed armorial bearings of some noble victim of law or tyranny.³ In the year 1617, it was rebuilt on a new site in the High Street, apparently with the view of widening the approach preparatory to the arrival of King James, in fulfilment of his long promised visit to his native city. The King sent word at that time of "his naturall and salmon-like affection, and earnest desire" as he quaintly but very graphically expresses it, "to see his native and ancient kingdome of Scotland." Accordingly, as Calderwood tells us in the very next sentence, "Upon the 26th of Februar, the Crosse of Edinburgh was taken down; the old long stone, about fortie foots or therby in length, was translated, by the devise of certane mariners in Leith, from the place where it stooode past memorie of man, to a place beneath in the Highe Streete, without anie harme to the stone; and the bodie of the old Crosse was demolished and another buildit, whereupon the long stone or obelisk was erected and sett upon the 25th of Marche."⁴ The long stone must have suffered injury since, but the fine Gothic capital, of which we have already given a view, is without doubt a relic of the most ancient Cross demolished at this period. Among the older customs of which this interesting fabric was the scene, no one is more curious than the exposure of dyvours or bankrupts, a class of *criminals* at all times regarded with

¹ Vide Calderwood, vol. v. p. 116, for a more particular account of royal mishaps in the close-head on this occasion.

² "Anent walpynnys in Buithis. Item, it is statute and ordanit be the Provest, Bailies, and Counsall of this burgh, because of the greit slauchteris and utheris cummeris and tulzeis done in tyme bygane within the burgh, and apperendlie to be done gif na remeid be provydit thairto; and for eschewing thairof;—that ilk manner of persone, merchandis, craftis men, and all utheris occupyaris of buthis, or chalmeris in the hiegait, outhier heych or laych, that thay have lang valpynnys thairin, sic as hand ex, Jedburgh staif, hawart jawalyng, and siclyk lang valpynnys, with knaipschawis and jakkis; and that thay cum thairwith to the hie-gait incontinent efter the commoun bell rynging." Burgh Records, Mar. 4, 1552.

³ "Upone Tysday the nyntene day of Junij 1600, eftir sermond endit, the magistrates and counsell of Edinburgh, all in thair best robis, with a great number of the citizens, went to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair a great long boord was covered with all soirtes of sweit meittis, and thair drank the kinges helth, and his brether; the spoutes of the Croce rynnand all that tyme with abundance of clareyt wyne. Ther wer thrie hundreth dosane of glassis all brokin and cassin throw the streitis, with sweit meitis in abundance." &c. Nicoll's Diary, p. 293.

"Upone the 13 day of Maij 1661, Sir Archibald Johnnestoun of Warystoun, lait Clerk Register, being forfalt in this Parliament, and being fugitive fra the lawis of this Kingdome, for his treasonable actis, he was first oppinlie declairit traitour in face of Parliament, thaireftir, the Lord Lyon king at armes, with four heraldis and sex trumpetteris, went to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and thair maid publict intimation of his forfaltie and treason, rave asunder his armes, and trampled thame under thair feet, and kuist a number of thame over the Croce, and affixt ane of thame upone the height of the great stane, to remayne thair to the publict view of all beholderis. Thir armes were croced bakward, his heid being put downest and his feet upmost." Ibid, p. 332.

⁴ Calderwood, vol. vii., p. 243.

special indignation by their more fortunate fellow citizens. The origin of this singular mode of protecting commercial credit, is thus related in the Acts of Sederunt of the Court of Session, for 1604:—"The Lordis ordaine the Provest, Bailleis, and Counsale of Edinburgh, to cause big ane pillery of hewn stane, neir to the mercat croce of Edinburgh, upon the heid thereof ane sait and place to be maid, quhairupon, in tyme cuming, sall be set all dyvoris, wha sall sit thairon ane mercat day, from 10 hours in the morning, quhill ane hour efter dinner; and the saidis dyvoris, before thair libertie and cuming furth of the tolbuith, upon thair awn chairges, to cause mak and buy ane hat or bonnet of yellow colour, to be worn be thame all the tyme of their sitting on the said pillery, and in all tyme thairefter, swa lang as they remane and abide dyvoris."¹ Sundry modifications of this singular act were afterwards adopted. In 1669 "the Lords declare that the habite is to be a coat and upper garment, which is to cover their cloaths, body and arms, whereof, the one half is to be of yellow, and the other half of a brown colour, and a cap or hood, which they are to wear on their head, party coloured, as said is,"² coloured, as is enacted at a subsequent period, "conform to a pattern delivered to the magistrates of Edinburgh to be kept in their Tolbooth."³ The effect of such a custom, if revived in our day, amid the bustle and fever of railway schemes, and "bubble speculations" of all kinds, could not fail to exercise a very pleasing influence in diversifying the monotony of our unpicturesque modern attire, and giving some variety to our assemblies and promenades! How far commercial solvency would be promoted by the frequenters of the Stock Exchange being thus compelled to wear their credit on their sleeve, we must leave these shrewd speculators to determine at their leisure. Cowper, in his "Epistle to Joseph Hill, Esq.," discusses a somewhat analogous device, adopted by an Eastern sage, for distinguishing honest men from knaves, and which consisted in the convicted defaulter wearing only half a coat thereafter; but he adds, for the comfort of all contemporaries:—

O happy Britain! we have not to fear
Such hard and arbitrary measures here;
Else, could a law, like that which I relate,
Once have the sanction of our triple state,
Some few, that I have known in days of old,
Would run most dreadful risk of catching cold!⁴

In the steep and narrow closes that diverge on each side of the High Street, were once the dwellings of the old Scottish nobility, and still they retain interesting traces of faded grandeur, awaking many curious associations which well repay the investigator of their intricate purlieus. Dunbar's Close, of which we furnish a view, has already been mentioned, as the place pointed out by early tradition where Cromwell's "Ironsides" were lodged,

¹ Acts of Sederunt, 17th May 1606.

² Ibid, 26th February 1669.

³ Ibid, 18th July 1688.

⁴ The following Act of Sederunt, for 13th December 1785, describes the latest version of the Edinburgh Cross, if we except the radiated pavement that marks its site. "The Lords having considered the representation of the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city of Edinburgh, setting forth, that when the Cross was taken away in the year 1756, a stone was erected on the side of a well on the High Street, adjacent to the place where the Cross stood, which by Act of Sederunt, was declared to be the Market Cross of Edinburgh from that period. That since removing the city guard, the aforesaid well was a great obstruction to the free passage upon the High Street, which therefore they intended to remove, and instead thereof to erect a stone pillar, a few feet distant from the said well, on the same side of the High Street, opposite to the head of the Old Assembly Close. Of which the Lords approve, and declare the new pillar to be the Market Cross." We suppose the more economical marking of the pavement was the only result.

and its whole appearance is both unique and singularly picturesque. Over the entrance to the Rose and Thistle Tap,—the traditional guard-room of the victors of Dunbar,—there is a beautifully carved inscription, bearing one of the oldest dates now left on any private building in Edinburgh. The stone is rebuilt into a new portion of the house, but is still nearly as sharp as when fresh from the chissel; the inscription is:—

FAITH · IN · CRIST · ONLIE · SAVIT · 1567.

On another part of the building the initials I · D ·, and K · T ·, appear attached to some curiously formed marks, and are doubtless those of the original owners; but unfortunately all the early titles are lost, so that no clue now remains to the history of this singular dwelling. The lower story, which is believed to have formed the black-hole or dungeon of the English troopers, is vaulted with stone, and around the massive walls iron rings are affixed, as if for the purpose of securing the prisoners once confined in these vaults. The east wall of the main room above is curiously constructed of elliptic arches, resting on plain circular pillars, and such portions of the outer wall as are not concealed by the wooden appendages of early times, exhibit polished ashlar work, finished with neat mouldings and string courses.

Immediately to the north of this ancient mansion, there is a large land entering from the foot of Seller's close, which has two flat terraced roofs at different elevations, and forms a prominent and somewhat graceful feature of the old town as seen from Princes street. This is known by the name of "The Cromwell Bartizan,"¹ and is pointed out, on the same traditional authority, as having been occupied by the General, owing to its vicinity to his guards, and the commanding prospect which its terraced roof afforded of the English fleet at anchor in the Firth. Over a doorway which divides the upper from the lower part of this close, a carved lintel bears this variation of the common legend:—THE · LORD · BE · BLEIST · FOR · AL · HIS · GIFTIS .² The close is now nearly all in ruins, though evidently once a place of note. A building on the west side, finished in the style prevalent about the period of James VI., has the following inscription over a window on the third floor:—

☞ THE LORD IS THE PORTION OF MINE INHERITANCE AND OF
MY CUP; THOU MAINTAINEST MY LOT. PSAL. XVI., VERSE 5.

In the house opposite,—also in ruins,—a very large and handsome Gothic fire-place remains, in the same style as those already described in the Guise Palace. In Brown's close adjoining this, Arnot informs us that there existed in his time "a private oratory," containing a "baptismal font," or sculptured stone niche; but every relic of antiquity has now disappeared; and nearly the same may be said of Byres Close, though it contained only a few years since the town mansion built by Sir John Byres of Coates, the carved lintel of which was removed, by the late Sir Patrick Walker, to Coates house, the ancient mansion

¹ Vide, vol. i. p. 96, some confusion exists in the different attempts to fix the exact house, but these discrepancies tend to confirm the general probability of the tradition; the name *Bartizan*, however, would seem to determine the building now assigned in the text.

² In that amusing collection "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," written for the purpose of confounding atheists, the following is given as an East Lothian grace, "in the time of ignorance and superstition:—"

Lord be bless'd for all his gifts,
Defy the Devil and all his shifts.
God send me mair siller. Amen.

of that family, near Edinburgh. It bears the inscription, "Blissit be God in al his giftis," with the initials I · B · ; and M · B · , and the date 1611.¹

At the foot of this close, however, we again meet with valuable associations connected with more than one remarkable period in Scottish history. A door-way on the east side of the close, affords access to a handsome, though now ruinous stone stair, guarded by a neatly carved ballustrade and leading to a garden terrace, on which stands a very beautiful old mansion, that yields in interest to none of the ancient private buildings of the capital. It presents a semi-hexagonal front to the north, each of the sides of which is surmounted by a richly carved dormer window, bearing inscriptions boldly cut in large Roman letters, though now partly defaced. That over the north window is:—

NIHIL · EST · EX · OMNI · PARTE · BEATUM ·

The windows along the east side appear to have been originally similarly adorned ; two of their carved tops are built into an out-house below, on one of which is the inscription, LAUS · UBIQUE · DEO · and on the other, FELICITER · INFELIX. In the title deeds of this ancient building,² it is described as "that tenement of land, of old belonging to Adam Bishop of Orkney, Commendator of Holyroodhouse, thereafter to John, Commendator of Holyroodhouse," his son, who in 1603, accompanied James to England, receiving on the journey the keys of the town of Berwick, in his Majesty's name. Only three years afterwards, "the temporalities and spiritualitie" of Holyrood, were erected into a barony in his behalf, and himself created a Peer, by the title of Lord Holyroodhouse. Here then is the mansion of the celebrated Adam Bothwell, who, on the 15th May 1567, officiated at the ominous marriage-service in the Chapel of Holyrood Palace,³ that gave Bothwell legitimate possession of the unfortunate Queen Mary, whom he had already so completely secured within his toils. That same night the distich of Ovid was affixed to the palace gate:—

Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait ;⁴

and from the infamy that popularly attached to this fatal union, is traced the vulgar prejudice that still regards it as unlucky to wed in the month of May. The character of the old Bishop of Orkney is not one peculiarly meriting admiration. He married the poor Queen according to the *new forms*, in despite of the protest of their framers, and he proved equally pliable where his own interests were concerned. He was one of the first to desert his royal mistress's party ; and only two months after celebrating her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, he placed the crown on the head of her infant son. The following year he humbled himself to the Kirk, and engaged "to make a sermoun in the kirk of Halierudehous, and in the end therof to confesse the offence in marieng the Queine with the Erle of Bothwell."⁵

The interior of this ancient building has been so entirely remodelled to adapt it to the

¹ The front land to the west of Byres close, was long the residence, Post Office, and miscellaneous establishment of the noted Peter Williamson, who advertised himself as "from the other world!" and published an ingenious narrative of his Adventures in America, and Captivity among the Red Indians. Vide Kay's Portraits, vol. i. p. 137.

² Now the property of Messrs Clapperton and Co., by whom it is occupied as a warehouse.

³ "Within the suld chappel, not with the mess, both with preachings." Diurn. of Occurrents, p. 111. Keith and other historians, however, say, "within the great hall, where the council usually met."

⁴ Ovid's Fasti, Book v.

⁵ Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 131.

very different uses of later times, that no relic of its early grandeur, or of the manners of its original occupants remain ; but one cannot help regarding its chambers with a melancholy interest, disguised though they are by the changes of modern taste and manners. The name of the Bishop of Orkney appears at the bond granted by the nobility to the Earl of Bothwell, immediately before he put in practise his ambitious scheme against Queen Mary ; so that here, in all probability, the rude Earl, and many of the leading nobles of that eventful period, have met to discuss their daring plans, and to mature the designs that involved so many in their consequences. Here too, we may believe both Mary and James to have been entertained as guests, by father and son, while at the same board there sat another lovely woman, whose wrongs are so touchingly recorded in the beautiful old ballad of "Lady Ann Bothwell's Lament." She was the daughter of the first Lord Holyroodhouse, and is said to have possessed great personal beauty. She was betrayed into a disgraceful connection with the Honourable Sir Alexander Erskine, a son of the Earl of Marr, of whom a portrait still exists by Jamieson. He is there represented in military dress, with a cuirass and scarf ; but the splendour of his warlike attire, is evidently unnecessary to set off his noble and expressive countenance. The desertion of the frail beauty by this gay deceiver, was believed by his contemporaries to have exposed him to the signal vengeance of heaven, on his being blown up, along with the Earl of Haddington, and many others of noble birth, in the Castle of Dunglass, in 1640 ; the powder magazine having been ignited by a servant boy out of revenge against his master.¹ Adam Bothwell lies buried in the ruined chapel of Holyrood, where his monument is still to be seen, attached to the second pillar from the great east window that once overlooked the high altar at which Mary gave her hand to the imbecile Darnley, and not far from the spot—if we are to believe the contemporary annalist,—where she yielded it to her infamous ravisher.



The fore part of the ancient building in the High Street, has been almost entirely modernized, and faced with a new stone front, but many citizens still living, remember when an ancient timber façade projected its lofty gables into the street, with tier above tier, each thrusting out beyond the lower story, while below were the covered piazza and darkened entrances to the gloomy "laigh shops,"² such as may still be seen in the few examples of old timber lands that have escaped demolition. But this ancient fabric is asso-

VIGNETTE.—Adam Bothwell's house, from the north.

¹ A rude version of this beautiful ballad was printed in 1606, and others have since been given of it by Percy, Jamieson, Kinloch, &c. ; Mr R. Chambers, however, was the first to publish the true history of the heroine, in his "Scottish Ballads." A slight confusion occurs in his account, where she is styled the daughter of Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, &c. The dates seem to leave no doubt that the father was John, his son, the first who obtained the title of Lord Holyroodhouse.

² In a Sasine of part of this property, it is styled, "that western laigh booth, or shop, lying within the fore tenement of Mr Adam Bothwell, under the laigh stair thairof . . . as also that merchant shop entering from the High Street," &c.

ciated with another citizen of no less note in his day—"The glorious days of auld worthy faithfu' Provost Dick,"—than ever was either the Bishop of Orkney, or my Lord Holyroodhouse. Sir William Dick of Braid, an eminent merchant of Edinburgh, and provost of the city in the years 1638 and 1639, presents in his strangely chequered history, one of the most striking examples of the instability of fortune on record. He was reputed the wealthiest man of his time in Scotland, and was generally believed by his contemporaries to have discovered the philosophers stone!¹ Being a zealous Covenanter, he advanced at one time to the Scottish Convention of Estates, in the memorable year 1641, the sum of one hundred thousand merks, to save them from the necessity of disbanding their army; and in the following year, the customs were sett to him, "for 202,000 merks, and 5000 merks of girsoum."² On the triumph of Cromwell and the Independents, however, his horror of "the Sectaries" was greater even than his opposition to the Stuarts, and he advanced £20,000 for the service of King Charles. By this step he provoked the wrath of the successful party, while squandering his treasures on a failing cause. He was unsparingly subjected to the heaviest penalties, until his vast resources dwindled away in vain attempts to satisfy the rapacity of legal extortion, and he died miserably in prison, at Westminster, during the Protectorate, in want, it is said, of even the common necessaries of life.³ This romance of real life, was familiar to all during Sir Walter Scott's early years, and he has represented David Deans exultingly exclaiming:—"Then folk might see men deliver up their silver to the State's use, as if it had been as muckle sclave stanes. My father saw them toom the sacks of dollars out o' Provost Dick's window, intill the carts that carried them to the army at Dunse Law; and if ye winna believe his testimony, there is the window itsell still standing in the Luckenbooths,—at the airm stanchells, five doors abune Advocate's Close".⁴ The old timber gable and the stanchelled window of this Scottish Cæsus, have vanished, like his own dollars, beyond recall, but there is no doubt that the modern and unattractive stone front, extending between Byres' and Advocate's Closes, only disguises the remarkable building to which such striking historical associations belong. The titles include, not only a disposition of the property to Sir William Dick of Braid, but the appraising and disposition of it by his creditors after his death; and its situation is casually confirmed by a contemporary notice that indicates its importance at the period. In the classification of the city into companies, by order of Charles I., the third division extends "from Gladstone's Land, down the northern side of the High Street to Sir William Dick's Land."⁵ The house was afterwards occupied by the Earl of Kintore, an early patron of Allan Ramsay, whose name was given to a small court still re-

¹ *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. i. p. 336.

² Sir Thomas Hope's Diary, Bann. Club, p. 158. *Gersome*, or *entresse siller*, now pronounced *Grassum*.

³ These changes of fortune are commemorated in a folio pamphlet, entitled "the lamentable state of the deceased Sir William Dick." It contains several copper-plates, one representing Sir William on horseback, and attended with guards, as Lord Provost of Edinburgh, superintending the unloading of one of his rich argosies at Leith. A second exhibits him as arrested, and in the hands of the bailiffs, and a third presents him dead in prison. The tract is greatly valued by collectors. Sir Walter Scott mentions in a note to the Heart of Midlothian, that the only copy he ever saw for sale was valued at £30.

⁴ Scott says *Gosford's* close, but it is obviously a mistake, as independent of the direct evidence we have of the true site of Sir William Dick's house, that close was not in the Luckenbooths, the locality he correctly mentions.

⁵ Maitland, p. 285.

maining behind the front building, although the public mode of access to it has disappeared since the remodelling of the old timber land.

Advocate's Close, which bounds the ancient tenement we have been describing, on the east, derives its name from Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees,¹ who returned from exile on the landing of the Prince of Orange, and took an active part in the Revolution. He was an object of extreme dislike to the Jacobite party, who vented their spleen against him in their bitterest lampoons, some of which are preserved in the Scottish Pasquils; and to them, he was indebted for the soubriquet of *Jamie Wylie*. Sir James filled the office of Lord Advocate, from 1692 until his death in 1713, one year excepted, and had a prominent share in all the public transactions of that important period. Being so long in the enjoyment of his official title, the close in which he resided received the name of "the Advocate's Close." The house in which he lived and died is at the foot of the close, on the west side, immediately before descending a flight of steps that somewhat lessen the abruptness of the steep descent.² In 1769, Sir James Stewart, grandson of the Lord Advocate, sold the house to David Dalrymple of Westhall Esq., who, when afterwards raised to the Bench, assumed the title of Lord Westhall, and continued to reside in this old mansion till his death.³ This ancient alley retains, nearly unaltered, the same picturesque overhanging gables and timber projections which have, without doubt, characterised it for centuries, and may be taken as a very good sample of a fashionable close in the palmy days of Queen Anne. It continued till a comparatively recent period, to be a favourite locality for gentlemen of the law, and has been pointed out to us, by an old citizen, as the early residence of Andrew Crosbie, the celebrated original of "Councillor Pleydell," who forms so prominent a character among the *dramatis personæ* of Guy Mannering. The same house already mentioned as that of Sir James Stewart, would answer in most points to the description of the novelist, entering, as it does, from a dark and steep alley, and commanding a magnificent prospect towards the north, though now partially obstructed by the buildings of the new town. It is no mean praise to the old lawyer, that he was almost the only one who had the courage to stand his ground against Dr Johnson, during his visit to Edinburgh. Mr Crosbie afterwards removed to the splendid mansion erected by him in St Andrew Square, ornamented with engaged pillars and a highly decorated attic storey, which stands to the north of the Royal Bank;⁴ but he was involved, with many others, in the failure of the Ayr Bank, and died in such poverty, in 1785, that his widow owed her sole support to an annuity of £50 granted by the Faculty of Advocates.

The lowest house on the east side, directly opposite to that of the Lord Advocate, was the residence of an artist of some note in the seventeenth century. It has been pointed out to us by an old citizen still living,⁵ as the house of his "grandmother's grandfather," the celebrated John Scougal,⁶ painter of the portrait of George Heriot which now

¹ Now called "Moredun" in the parish of Libberton. The house was built by Sir James, soon after the Revolution.

² Sir James Stewart,—Provost of Edinburgh, in 1648-9, when Cromwell paid his first visit to Edinburgh, and again in 1658-9, at the close of the Protectorate,—purchased the ancient tenement which occupied this site, and after the Revolution, his son, the Lord Advocate, rebuilt it, and died there in 1713, when, "so great was the crowd," as Wodrow tells in his *Analecta*, "that the magistrates were at the grave in the Greyfriars' church-yard before the corpece was taken out of the house at the foot of the Advocate's Close." *Coltness Collections*, Maitland Club, p. 17.

³ The house appears from the titles to have been sold by Lord Westhall, in 1784, within a few weeks of his death.

⁴ Now occupied as Douglas's Hotel.

⁵ Mr Andrew Greig, carpet manufacturer.

⁶ John Scougal, younger of that name, was a cousin of Patrick Scougal, consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen in 1664. He

hangs in the council room of the hospital ; so that here was the fashionable lounge of the dillittanti of the seventeenth century, and the resort of rank and beauty, careful to preserve unbroken the links of the old line of family portraiture ; though a modern fine lady would be seized with a nervous fit at the very prospect of descending the slippery abyss.

Following our course eastward we arrive at Roxburgh's Close, which is believed to derive its name from having been the residence of the Earls of Roxburgh. It has however, suffered a very different fate from the adjoining close. Few of its ancient features have escaped alteration, and only one door-way remains—now built up,—of the mansion reputed to have been that in which the ancestors of the noble Earls lived in state. We have engraved a fac-simile of the quaint and pious legend that adorns the old lintel. If this account be true, (for which, however, there is only the authority of tradition), the date carries us back to the year 1586, in which their ancestor, Sir Walter Ker of Cessford, died, one of the leaders in the affray already alluded to, in which Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh was slain on the High Street of Edinburgh.



Warriston's Close, is another of the ancient alleys of the old town, which still remains nearly in its pristine state, exhibiting the substantial relics of former grandeur, like the faded gentility of a reduced dowager. Handsome and lofty polished ashlar fronts are decorated with richly moulded and sculptured door-ways, surmounted by architraves adorned with inscriptions and armorial bearings,—still ornamental, though broken and defaced. Timber projections of an early date jut out here and there, and give variety to the irregular architecture, while far up, and almost beyond the point of sight that the straitened thoroughfare admits of, dormer windows of an ornate character rise into the roof, and the gables are finished with crow-steps, and, in one case at least, with armorial bearings. Over the first door-way on the west side, is the inscription and date :

. . . . QUE · ERIT · ILLE · MIHI · SEMPER · DEUS · 1583 ·

The front of this building facing the High Street, is of polished ashlar work, surmounted with handsome, though dilapidated, dormer windows, and is further adorned with a curious monogram ; but, like most other similar ingenious devices, it is undecypherable without the key. We have failed to trace the builders or occupants at this early period ; but the third floor of the old land was occupied in the following century by James Murray,

added the upper story to the old land in Advocate's Close, and fitted up one of the floors as a picture gallery ; some of his finest works were possessed by the late Andrew Bell, engraver, the originator of the Encyclopædia Britannica, who married his granddaughter. Pinkerton remarks of him :—" For some years after the Revolution he was the only painter in Scotland, and had a very great run of business. This brought him into an hasty and incorrect manner." This is very observable in the portrait of Heriot, copied in 1698, from the original by Paul Vansomer,—now lost. The head is well painted, but the drapery and back ground are so slovenly and harshly executed, that they appear more like the work of an inexperienced pupil. Scougal died at Prestonpans, about the year 1730, aged 85, having witnessed a series of as remarkable political changes, as ever occurred during a single life time. He is named *George*, in the *Weekly Magazine*, (vol. xv, p. 66), and elsewhere, but this appears to be an error, as several of his descendants were named after him, *John* :

Lord Philiphaugh, one of the judges appointed after the Revolution. He sat in the Convention of Estates which assembled at Edinburgh, 26th June 1678, and was again chosen to represent the county of Selkirk, in Parliament, in the year 1681, when he became a special object of jealousy to the government. He was imprisoned in 1684; and under the terror of threatened torture with the boots, he yielded to give evidence against those implicated in the Rye-House Plot. He had the character of an upright and independent judge, but his contemporaries never forgot "that unhappy step of being an evidence to save his life,"¹ a weakness that most of those who remembered it against him would probably have shown in like circumstances.

A little further down the close, another doorway appears, adorned with an inscription and armorial bearings. At the one end of the lintel is a shield bearing the arms of Bruce of Binning, boldly cut in high relief, and at the other end, the same, impaled with those of Preston, while between them is this inscription, in large ornamental characters,

GRACIA · DEI · ROBERTUS · BRUISS ·

In the earlier titles of property in this close, it is styled Bruce's Close, and the family have evidently been of note and influence in their day. We were not without hope of being able to trace their connection with the celebrated Robert Bruce, who, as one of the ministers of Edinburgh, became an object of such special animosity to James VI.; and the vicinity of the old mansion to the ancient church where he officiated renders it not improbable in the absence of all evidence.²

Still farther down, another door-way ornamented with inscriptions and armorial bearings,³ gives access to a large and handsome dwelling on the first floor, adorned at its entrance with a niche or recess, formed of a pointed arch, somewhat plainer than the "fonts" described in Blyth's Close. Here was the residence of the celebrated Sir Thomas Craig, who won the character of an upright judge, and a man of eminent learning and true nobleness of character, during the long period of forty years that he practised as a lawyer, in the reign of Queen Mary and James VI. One of his earliest duties as a justice-depute, was the trial and condemnation of Thomas Scott, sheriff-depute of Perth, and Henry Yair a priest, for having kept the gates of Holyrood palace during the assassination of Rizzio. He appears to have been a man of extreme modesty, and little inclined from his natural disposition to take a prominent part in public affairs. Whether from timidity or diffidence, he left Sir Thomas Hope to fulfil the duties which rightly devolved on him, as advocate for the church, at the famous trial of the six ministers. He was of a studious turn, and readier in the use of his pen than his tongue. His legal treatises are still esteemed for their great learning; and several of his Latin poems are to be found in the "*Delitiæ Poetarum Scottorum*," containing, according to his biographer Mr Tytler, many passages eminently poetical. It is a curious fact, that although repeatedly offered by King James the honour of knighthood, he constantly refused it; and he is only styled "Sir Thomas Craig," in consequence

¹ Mackay's Memoirs.

² In the Book of Retours, vol. ii., Nos. 26 and 30, in the year 1600, Robert Bruce, heir male of Robert Bruce of Binning, his father, appears as owner of various lands in Linlithgow, anciently belonging to the Prioress and Convent of the B.V. Mary of Elcho, with the church lands of the vicarage of Bynning.

³ The inscription, now greatly defaced, is, *Gratia Dei, Thomas T*

of a royal order that every one should give him that title. He was succeeded in the old mansion by his son, Sir Lewis Craig, and had the satisfaction of pleading as advocate, while he presided on the bench under the title of Lord Wrightslands. The house in Warriston's Close was subsequently occupied by Sir George Urquhart of Cromarty, and still later by Sir Robert Baird of Saughton Hall. But the most celebrated residenter in this ancient alley, is the eminent lawyer and statesman, Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, the nephew of its older inhabitant, Sir Thomas Craig. He appears from the titles, to have purchased from his cousin, Sir Lewis Craig, the house adjoining his own, and which is entered by a plain door-way on the west side of the close, immediately below the one last described. Johnston of Warriston took an early and very prominent share in the resistance offered to the schemes of Charles I., and in 1638, on the royal edict being proclaimed from the cross of Edinburgh, which set at defiance the popular opposition to the hated Service Book, he boldly appeared on a scaffold erected near it, and read aloud the celebrated protest drawn up in name of the Tables, while the mob compelled the royal heralds to abide the reading of this counter-defiance. It is unnecessary to sketch out very minutely the incidents in a life already familiar to the students of Scottish history. He was knighted by Charles I., on his second visit to Scotland in 1641, and assumed the designation of Lord Warriston on his promotion to the bench. He was one of the Scottish Commissioners sent to mediate between Charles I. and the English parliament; and after filling many important offices he sat by the same title as a peer in Cromwell's abortive House of Lords; and, on the death of the Protector, he displayed his keen opposition to the restoration of the Stuarts by acting as president of the committee of safety under Richard Cromwell. On the restoration of Charles II., he became an object of special animosity, and having boldly refused to concur in the treaty of Breda, he escaped to Hamburgh, from whence he afterwards retired to Rouen in France. There he was delivered up to Charles by the French King, and after a tedious imprisonment, both in the tower of London, and the old Tolbooth of Edinburgh, he was executed with peculiar marks of indignity, on the spot where he had so courageously defied the royal proclamation twenty-five years before. His own nephew, Bishop Burnet, has furnished a very characteristic picture of the hardy and politic statesman, in which he informs us he was a man of such energetic zeal that he rarely allowed himself more than three hours sleep in the twenty-four. When we consider the leading share he took in all the events of that memorable period, and his intimate intercourse with the most eminent men of his time, we cannot but view with lively interest the decayed and deserted mansion where he has probably entertained such men as Henderson, Argyle, Rothes, Lesley, Monck, and even Cromwell; and the steep and straitened alley that still associates his name with the crowded lands of the old town.¹

The following quaint and biting epitaph, penned by some zealous cavalier on the death

¹ The importance which was attached to this close as one of the most fashionable localities of Edinburgh during the last century, appears from a proposition addressed by the Earl of Morton to the Lord Provost, in 1767, in which,—among other conditions which he demands, under the threat of opposing the extension of the royalty to the grounds on which the new town is built,—he requires that a timber bridge shall be thrown over the North Loch, from the foot of Warriston's Close to Bereford's Parks, and the public Register Offices of Scotland, built at the cost of the town, "on the highest level ground of Robertson's and Wood's farms." To this the magistrates reply by stating, among other objections, that the value of the property in the close alone is £20,000! Proposition by the Earl of Morton, fol. 5 pp.

of his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, has been preserved by Sir James Balfour, and is worth quoting as a sample of party rancour against the whig statesman :

Deevil suell ye deathe,
And burste the lyke a tunc,
That took away good Elapet Craige,
And left y^e knave her sone.

History and Romance contend for the associations of the Scottish capital, not always with the advantage on the dull side of fact. On a certain noted Saturday night, in the annals of fiction, Dandy Dinmont and Colonel Mannering turned from the High Street "into a dark alley, then up a dark stair, and into an open door." The alley was Writers' Court, and the door that of Clerihugh's tavern; a celebrated place of convivial resort during the last century, which still stands at the bottom of the court, though its deserted walls no longer ring with the revelry of *High Jinks*, and such royal mummings as formed the sport of Pleydell and his associates on that jovial night. The picture is no doubt a true one of scenes familiar to grave citizens of former generations. Clerihugh's tavern was the favourite resort of our old civic dignitaries, for those "douce festivities" that were then deemed indispensable, to the satisfactory settlement of all city affairs. The wags of last century, used to tell of a certain city treasurer, who, on being applied to for a new rope to the Tron Kirk bell, summoned the council to deliberate on the demand; an adjournment to Clerihugh's tavern it was hoped might facilitate the settlement of so weighty a matter, but one dinner proved insufficient, and it was not till they had finished their third banquet in Writers' Court, that the application was referred to a committee of councillors, who spliced the old bell rope, and settled the bill! ¹

We have already alluded to some of the most recently cherished superstitions in regard to Mary King's Close, associated with Beth's Wynd as one of the last retreats of the plague; but it appears probable, from the following epigram "on Marye King's pest," by Drummond of Hawthornden, that the idea is coeval with the name of the close:—

Turne, citizens, to God; repent, repent,
And praye your bedlam frenzies may relent;
Think not rebellion a trifling thing,
This plague doth fight for *Mari*e and the *King*.²

Mr George Sinclair, has furnished in his "Satan's Invisible World Discovered"³ an account of apparitions seen in this close, and "attested by witnesses of undoubted veracity," which leaves all ordinary wonders far behind! This erudite work was written to confound theatheists of the seventeenth century. It used to be hawked about the streets by the gingerbread-wives, and found both purchasers and believers enough to have satisfied even its credulous author. Its popularity may account for the general prevalence of superstitious prejudices regarding this old close, which was, at best, a grim and gousty-looking place, and appears, from the reports of property purchased for the site of the Royal Exchange, to have been nearly all in ruins when that building was erected, most of the houses having been burned

¹ Writer's Court derives its name from the Signet Library having been kept there until its removal to the magnificent apartments which it now occupies, adjoining the Parliament House.

² Drummond of Hawthornden's Poems, Maitland Club, p. 395.

³ Originally published in 1685, by Mr George Sinclair, Professor of Philosophy in Glasgow College, and afterwards minister of Eastwood, in Renfrewshire.

down in 1750. The pendicle of Satan's worldly possessions, however, which we have now to describe, is understood to be still standing in the nether regions of the Royal Exchange area.

From Professor Sinclair's veracious narrative, it appears, that Mr Thomas Coltheart, a respectable law-agent, removed from a lower part of the town to a better house in Mary King's Close. The maid-servant was warned by the neighbours of its being *haunted*, on her first coming about the house, and became so intimidated that she deserted her place, leaving Mr Coltheart and his wife alone in their new dwelling, to defy the devil and his minions as they best might. The good lady had seated herself beside her husband's bed,—who had lain down on the Sunday afternoon, being slightly indisposed,—and was engaged in reading the bible, when happening to lift her eye, she was appalled by beholding a head, seemingly that of an old man with a grey beard, suspended in mid air at a little distance, and gazing intently on her. She swooned at the sight, and lay in a state of insensibility till the return of her neighbours from church. Her husband on being told of the apparition sought to reason her out of her credulity, and the evening passed over without further trouble, but they were not long gone to bed when he himself spied the same phantom-head, by the light of the fire, gazing at him with its ghastly eyes. He rose and lighted a candle, and took to prayer, but with little effect; for in about an hour the bodiless phantom was joined by that of a child also suspended in mid air, and this again was followed by a naked arm from the elbow downwards, which, in defiance of all adjurations and prayers, not only persisted in remaining, but seemed bent on shaking hands with them. The poor agent in the most solemn manner addressed this very friendly but unwelcome intruder, engaging to do his utmost to right any wrongs it had received, if it would only begone, but all in vain. The goblins evidently considered that the worthy couple, and not they, were the intruders. They persisted in making themselves at home; though after all they seem to have been civil enough ghosts, with no unfriendly intentions, so that they were only allowed the run of the house. By and bye, the naked arm was joined by a spectral dog, which deliberately mounted a chair, and turning its nose to its tail, went to sleep. This was followed by a cat, and soon after by other and stranger creatures, until the whole floor swarmed with them, so that “the honest couple went to their knees again within the bed; there being no standing in the floor of the room. In the time of prayer, their ears were startled with a deep, dreadful, and loud groan, as of a strong man dying, at which all the apparitions and visions at once vanished!”

Mr Coltheart must have been a man of no ordinary courage, or this night's experience would have satisfied him to resign his new house to the devil, or his subtenants, who seemed to have taken a previous lease of it. He continued to reside there till his death without further molestation; but at the very moment he expired, a gentleman whose law-agent and intimate friend he was, being in his house at Tranent,—a small town about ten miles from Edinburgh,—was awoke while asleep in bed there with his wife, by the nurse, who was affrighted by something like a cloud moving about the room. While the gentleman got hold of his sword, to defend himself and them against this unwonted visitor, the cloud gradually assumed the form of a man. “At last the apparition looked him fully and perfectly in the face, and stood by him with a ghostly and pale countenance.” The gentleman recognised his friend Thomas Coltheart, and demanded of him if he was dead, and what was his errand? Whereat the ghost held up his hand three times, shaking it towards

him, and vanished. He arose and proceeded immediately to Edinburgh, to enquire into this strange occurrence, and arriving at the house in Mary King's Close, found the widow in tears for the death of the husband whose apparition he had seen. This account, we are told, was related by the minister, who was in the house on this occasion, to the Duke of Lauderdale, in the presence of many nobles, and is altogether as credible and well authenticated a ghost story as the lovers of the marvellous could desire. The house after being deserted for a while, was again attempted to be inhabited by a hard-drinking and courageous old pensioner and his wife, but towards midnight the candle began to burn blue; the head again made its appearance, but in much more horrible form, and the terrified couple made a precipitate retreat, resigning their dwelling without dispute to this prior tenant. No attempt, we believe, has been since made to reclaim this out-post of Satan from the powers of darkness.

Several ancient alleys, and a mass of old and mostly ruinous buildings were demolished in 1753, in preparing the site for the Royal Exchange; various sculptured stones belonging to which were built into the curious tower erected by Walter Ross, Esq., at the Dean, and popularly known by the name of "Ross's Folly." Several of these are now scattered about the garden grounds below the Castle rock, exhibiting considerable variety of carving. Another richly carved stone, consisting of a decorated ogee arch with croquets and finial, surmounted by shields, is built into a modern erection at the foot of Craig's Close, and nearly corresponds with one in a more dilapidated state in the Princes Street gardens, tending to show the important character of the buildings that formerly occupied this site. Among those in the gardens there is a lintel, bearing the Somerville arms, and the date 1658, with an inscription, now nearly defaced, and the initials I. S., possibly those of James, tenth Lord Somerville; but this was discovered in clearing out the bed of the North Loch.

The old land at the head of Craig's Close, fronting the main street, claims special notice, as occupying the site of Andrew Hart the famous old printer's "heich buith, lyand within the foir tenement of land upone the north syd of the Hie Streit,"¹ and which, by a curious coincidence, became, after the lapse of two centuries, the residence of the celebrated biblioplist, Provost Creech, and the scene of his famed morning levees; and more recently the dwelling of Mr Archibald Constable, from whose establishment so many of the highest productions of Scottish literature emanated.

The printing house of the old typographer still stands a little way down the close, on the east side. It is a picturesque and substantial stone tenement, with large and neatly moulded windows, retaining traces of the mullions that anciently divided them, and the lower crow-step of the north gable bears a shield adorned with the Sinclair arms. Handsome stone corbels project from the several floors, whereon have formerly rested the antique timber projections, referred by Maitland to the reign of James IV. Over an ancient doorway, now built up, is sculptured this motto, MY · HOIP · IS · CHRYST · with the initials A · S · and M · K ·; a curious device containing the letter S entwined with a cross, and the date 1593. An interesting relic belonging to this land, preserved in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries, is thus described in the list of donations for 1828: "A very perfect ancient Scottish spear, nearly fifteen feet long, which has been preserved from time

¹ Andrew Hart's Will.—Bann. Misc. vol. ii. p. 247.

immemorial, within the old printing office in Craig's Close, supposed to have been the workshop of the celebrated printer, Andro Hart." In the memorable tumult on the 17th December 1596, already described, when the king was besieged in the Tolbooth, by the excited citizens, Andrew Hart is specially mentioned as one of the very foremost in the rising that produced such terror and indignation in King James's mind; in so much so, that he was soon after warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, at his majesty's instance, as one of the chief authors of "that seditious stirring up and moving of the treasonable tumult and uproare that was in the burgh."¹ We can fancy the sturdy old printer sallying out from the close, at the cry of "*Armour! armour!*" hastily armed with his long spear and jack, and joining the excited burghers, that mustered from every booth and alley to lay siege to the affrighted monarch in the Tolbooth, or to help "the worthy Deacon Watt," in freeing him from his ignoble durance.

The house which stands between the fore and back lands of the famed typographer, was celebrated during the last century, as one of the best frequented taverns in the neighbourhood of the Cross, and a favourite resort of some of the most noted of the clubs, by means of which the citizens of that period were wont to seek relaxation and amusement. Foremost among these was the Cape Club, celebrated in Ferguson's poem of Auld Reekie. The scene of meeting for a considerable period, where Cape Hall was nightly inaugurated, was in James Mann's, at the Isle of Man arms, Craig's Close. There a perpetual *High Jinks* was kept up, by each member receiving on his election a peculiar name and character which he was ever afterwards expected to maintain. This feature, however, was by no means confined to the Cape Club, but formed one of the peculiarities of nearly all the convivial meetings of the capital, so that a slight sketch of "the Knights of the Cape," will suffice for a good sample of these old Edinburgh social unions. The Club appears from its minutes, to have been duly constituted, and the mode of procedure finally fixed, in the year 1764; it had however existed long before, and the name and peculiar forms which it then adopted, were derived from the characters previously assumed by its leading members.² Its peculiar insignia were, 1st, a cape, or crown, which was worn by the *Sovereign of the Cape* on state occasions, and which in the palmy days of the Club, its enthusiastic devotees adorned with gold and jewels; and, 2d, two maces in the form of huge steel pokers, which formed the sword and sceptre of his majesty in Cape Hall. These, with other relics of this jovial fraternity, are now appropriately hung in the lobby of the Society of Antiquaries.

The first Sovereign of the order after its final constitution, was Thomas Lancashire, the once celebrated Comedian, on whom Ferguson wrote the following epitaph:—

Alas! poor Tom, how oft, with merry heart,
Have we beheld thee play the sexton's part †
Each merry heart must now be grieved to see
The sexton's dreary part performed on thee.

The Comedian rejoiced in the title of *Sir Cape*, and in right of his sovereignty gave name to the Club, while the title of *Sir Poker*, which pertained to its oldest member, James Aitken, suggested the insignia of royalty. Tom Lancashire was succeeded on the throne

¹ Calderwood's Hist. vol. v. pp. 512, 520, 535.

² A different account of the Knights of the Cape has been published, but the general accuracy of the text may be relied upon, being derived from the minute books of the Club.

by David Herd, the well known editor of what Scott calls the first classic edition of Scottish songs, whose knightly soubriquet, was *Sir Scrape*. His secretary was Jacob More, the well known landscape painter,¹ and among his subjects may be mentioned the celebrated historical painter, Alexander Runciman, *Sir Brimstone*; Robert Ferguson the poet, dubbed *Sir Precentor*, most probably from his fine musical voice; Gavin Wilson, the poetical shoemaker, who published a collection of masonic songs, in 1788; whose club title was *Sir Maccaroni*; Walter Williamson, of Cardrona, Esq., a thorough specimen of the rough *bon vivant* laird of the last age; Walter Ross, the antiquary; Sir Henry Raeburn, who had already been dubbed a knight, under the title of *Sir Toby*, ere George IV. gave him that of Sir Henry; with a host of other knights of great and little renown, of whom we shall only specify *Sir Lluyd*, as the notorious William Brodie was styled. Some ingenious member has drawn on the margin of the minutes of his election, April 27th 1773, a representation of his last public appearance, on the new drop of his own invention, some fifteen years later. The old books of the Club abound with such pencilled illustrations and commentaries, in which the free touch of Runciman may occasionally be traced, among ruder sketches of less practised hands.

The following was the established form of inauguration of a Knight of the Cape. The novice on making his appearance in Cape Hall, was led up to the Sovereign by two knightly sponsors, and having made his obeisance, was required to grasp the large poker with his left hand, and laying his right hand on his breast, the oath *de fidei*, was administered to him by the Sovereign,—the knights present all standing uncovered,—in the following words:—

I swear devoutly by this light,
To be a true and faithful Knight,
With all my might,
Both day and night.
So help me Poker!

Having then reverentially kissed the larger poker, and continuing to grasp it, the Sovereign raised the smaller poker with both his royal fists, and aiming three successive blows at the novice's head, he pronounced, with each, one of the initial letters of the motto of the Club, C. F. D., explaining their import to be *Concordia Fratrum Decus*. The knight elect was then called upon to recount some adventure or *scrape* which had befallen him, from some leading incident in which the Sovereign selected the title conferred on him, and which he ever after bore in Cape Hall. This description of the mode of inauguration into that knightly order, will explain the allusions in Ferguson's poem:—

But chief, O Cape! we crave thy aid,
To get our cares and poortith laid.
Sincerity, and genius true,
Of Knights have ever been the due.
Mirth, music, potter deepest dyed,
Are never here to worth denied;
And health, o' happiness the queen,
Blinks bonny, wi' her smile serene.

The Club, whose honours were thus carefully hedged in by solemn ceremonial, established its importance by deeds consistent with its lofty professions, among which may be specified

¹ Jacob More was a pupil of Alexander Runciman. He went to Rome about 1773, where he acquired a high reputation as a landscape painter. He applied his art to the arrangement of the gardens of the Prince Borghese's villa, near the Porta Pinciana, with such taste as excited the highest admiration of the Italians. *Fuseli*.

the gift by his Majesty of the Cape, to his Majesty of Great Britain in 1778, of a contribution from the knights of one hundred guineas, "to assist his Majesty in raising troops." The entry money to the Club, which was originally half a crown, gradually rose to a guinea, and it seems to have latterly assumed a very aristocratic character. A great regard for economy however remained with it to the last. On the 10th of June 1776, it is resolved, "that they shall at no time take bad half-pence from the house, and also, recommend it to the house to take none from them!" and one of the last items entered on their minutes, arises from an intimation of the landlord that he could not afford them suppers under sixpence each, when it is magnanimously determined by the Club, in full conclave, "that the suppers shall be at the old price of four-pence half-penny!" *Sir Cape*, the comedian, appears to have eked out the scanty rewards of the drama, by himself maintaining a tavern at the head of the Canongate, which was for sometime patronized by the Knights of the Cape. They afterwards paid him occasional visits to Comedy Hut, New Edinburgh, a house which he opened beyond the precincts of the North Loch, about the year 1770, and there they held their ninth Grand Cape, as their great festival was styled, on the 9th of June of that year.¹ This sketch of one of the most famous convivial clubs of last century will suffice to give some idea of the revels in which grave councillors and senators were wont to engage, when each slipt off his professional formality along with his three tailed wig and black coat, and bent his energies to the task of such merry fooling, while his example was faithfully copied by clerk and citizen of every degree. "Such, O Themis, were anciently the sports of thy Scottish children!" The same haunt of revelry and wit witnessed in the year 1785, the once celebrated charlatan, Dr Katterfelto,—immortalized by Cowper, in "The Task," among the quackeries of old London,—

With his hair on end,

At his own wonders wondering for his bread!

His advertisement² sets forth his full array of titles, as Professor of Experimental Philosophy, Lecturer on Electricity, Chemistry, and Sleight of Hand, &c., and announces to his Patrons and the Public, that the Music begins at six, and the Lecture at seven o'Clock, at Craig's Close, High Street.

Another of the old lanes of the High Street, which has been an object of special note to the local antiquary, is Anchor Close; its fame is derived, in part at least, from the famous corps of Crochallan Fencibles, celebrated by Burns, both in prose and verse; a convivial club, whose festive meetings were held in Daniel Douglas's Tavern at the head of the alley. Burns was introduced to this club in 1787, while in Edinburgh superintending the printing of his poems, when, according to custom, one of the corps was pitted against the Poet in a contest of wit and irony. Burns bore the assault with perfect good humour, and entered into the full spirit of the meeting, but he afterwards paid his antagonist the compliment of acknowledging, that "he had never been so abominably thrashed in all his life!" The name of this gallant corps, which has been the subject of *learned conjecture*, is the burden of a Gaelic song, with which the landlord occasionally entertained his guests.³

¹ Provincial Cape Clubs, deriving their authority and Diplomas from the parent body, were successively formed in Glasgow, Manchester, and London, and in Charleston, South Carolina, each of which was formally established in virtue of a royal commission granted by the Sovereign of the Cape. The American off-shoot of this old Edinburgh fraternity is said to be still flourishing in the Southern States.

² Caledonian Mercury, January 24th, 1788.

³ Kerr's Life of William Smellie, vol. ii. p. 256.

The Club was founded by Mr William Smellie, Author of the Philosophy of Natural History, and numbered among its members the honourable Henry Erskine, Lords Newton and Gillies, with other men eminent for learning and rank. Mr Smellie may be regarded as in some degree the *genius loci* of this locality; the distinguished printing house which he established, is still occupied by his descendants; and there the most eminent literary men of that period visited, and superintended the printing of works that have made the press of the Scottish capital celebrated throughout Europe. There was the haunt of Drs Blair, Beattie, Black, Robertson, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, Lords Monboddo, Hailes, Kames, Henry Mackenzie, Arnot, Hume, and, foremost among the host, the poet Burns; of whom some interesting traditions are preserved in the office. The old desk is still shown, at which these and other eminent men revised their *proofs*; and the well used desk-stool is treasured as a valuable heir-loom, bearing on it an inscription, setting forth, that it is "the stool on which Burns sat while correcting the proofs of his Poems, from December 1786 to April 1787." Not even the famed Ballantyne press can compete with this venerable haunt of the Scottish literati, whose very "*devils*" have consumed more valuable manuscript in kindling the office fires, than would make the fortunes of a dozen modern autograph collectors! It need not surprise us to learn that even the original manuscripts of Burns were invariably converted to such homely purposes; the estimation of the poet being very different in 1787 from what it has since become. Of traditions of remote antiquity, the Anchor Close has its full share; and the numerous inscriptions, as well as the general character of the old buildings that rear their tall and irregular fronts along its west side, still attest its early importance. Immediately on entering the close from the High Street the visitor discovers this inscription, tastefully carved over the first entrance within the pend: THE · LORD · IS · ONLY · MY · SVPORT ·; and high overhead, above one of the windows facing down the close a carved stone bears a shield with the date 1569, and, on its third and fourth quarters, a pelican feeding her young with her own blood. Over another door-way a little farther down, is this pious legend: O · LORD · IN · THE · IS · AL · MY · TRAIST · Here was the approach to *Daunie Douglas's* tavern, celebrated among the older houses of entertainment in Edinburgh, as the haunt of the Crochallan corps. It is mentioned under the name of the Anchor Tavern in a deed of renunciation by James Deans, of Woodhouselee, Esq., in favour of his daughter, dated 1713, and still earlier references allude to its occupants as vintners. The portion of this building which faces the High Street, retains associations of a different character, adding another to the numerous examples of the simpler notions of our ancestors who felt their dignity in no way endangered when "the toe of the peasant came so near the heel of the courtier." It is styled in most of the title deeds "Lord Forglen's land," so that on one of the stories of the same building that furnished accommodation to the old tavern, resided Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Bart., one of the Commissioners of the Union, and for many years a senator of the College of Justice under the title of Lord Forglen. Fountainhall records some curious notes of an action brought against him by Sir Alexander Forbes, of Tolquhoun, for stealing a gilded mazer cup¹ out of his house, but which was at length accidentally discovered in the hands of a goldsmith at Aberdeen, to whom Sir Alexander had himself intrusted it some years before to be repaired; and he having forgot, it

¹ *Mazer Cup*, a drinking cup of maple.

lay there unrelieved, in security for the goldsmith's charge of half-a-crown ! It finally cost its rash, and, as it appears, vindictive owner, a penalty of 10,000 merks, the half only of the fine at first awarded against him.

A confused tradition appears to have existed at an early period, as to Queen Mary's having occupied a part of the ancient building within the close at some time or other. The Crochallan Fencibles were wont to date their printed circulars from "Queen Mary's council-room," and the great hall in which they met, and in which also the Society of Antiquaries long held their anniversary meetings, bore the name of the Crown. In a history of the close privately printed by Mr Smellie, in 1843, it is stated as a remarkable fact, that there existed about forty years since, a niche in the wall of this room, where Mary's crown was said to be deposited when she sat in council ! We shrewdly suspect the whole tradition had its origin in the *Crochallan Mint*. The building has still the appearance of having been a mansion of note in earlier times ; in addition to the inscriptions already mentioned, which are beautifully cut in ornamental lettering, it is decorated with such irregular bold string-courses as form the chief ornaments of the most ancient private buildings in Edinburgh, and four large and neatly moulded windows are placed so close together, two on each floor, as to convey the idea of one lofty window divided by a narrow mullion and transom. In the interior, also, decayed panneling, and mutilated, yet handsome oak balustrades still attest the former dignity of the place.

Over a doorway still lower down the close, where the Bill Chamber was, during the greater part of last century, the initials and date W·R · C·M · 1616, are cut in large letters ; and the house immediately below contains the only instance we have met with in Edinburgh, of a carved inscription over an interior doorway. It occurs above the entrance to a small inner room in the sunk floor of the house ; but the wall rises above the roof and is finished with crow-steps, so that the portion now enclosing it appears to be a later addition. The following is the concise motto, which seems to suggest that its original purpose was more dignified than its straitened dimensions might seem to imply :—

W . F . ANGVSTA . AD . VSVM . AVGVSTA . B . G .

The initials are those of William Fowler, merchant burghess ; the father, in all probability, of William Fowler, the poet, who was secretary to Queen Anne of Denmark, and whose sister was the mother of Drummond of Hawthornden.¹ At a later period this mansion formed the residence of Sir George Drummond, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, in the years 1683 and 1684, and probably a descendant of the original owner ; in whose time the lower ground appears to have been all laid out in gardens, sloping down to the North Loch, and adorned with a summer-house, afterwards possessed by Lord Forglen. We are disposed to smile at the aristocratic retreats of titled and civic dignitaries down these old closes, now altogether abandoned to squalid poverty ; yet many of them, like this, were undoubtedly provided with beautiful gardens and pleasure grounds, the charms of which would be enhanced by their unpromising and straitened access.

¹ There is reason for believing that the elder William Fowler, born in 1531, was also a poet, (vide *Archæol. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 71.) so that the burghess referred to in the text is probably the author of "The Triumph of Death," and other poems, referred to among the original Drummond M.SS. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in a fragment dated, "From my house in Edr. the 9. of Jan. 1590." The initials B.G., which are, no doubt, those of his wife, may yet serve to identify him as the owner of the old tenement in Anchor Close.

Not far from this, on the west side of the Old Stamp Office Close, is a large, old-fashioned mansion, which formed above a century ago the residence of Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglinton, and his lovely Countess Susannah Kennedy—reputed the handsomest woman of her time,—to whom the Gentle Shepherd is dedicated, both in Ramsay's most fluent prose, and in some of Hamilton of Bangour's flattering strains. She was brought to Edinburgh, just about the time of the Union, by her father, Sir Archibald Kennedy of Colzean,—a rough old cavalier, who had borne a part in the best and worst achievements of Claverhouse,—and her beauty speedily weaned the keenest devotees of politics from its engrossing attractions. The Earl of Eglinton was already provided with a Countess, whose protracted ill health had made him hopeless of an heir; and just when he had been smitten with the universal admiration of the lovely Susannah, and had exhibited some very unequivocal symptoms of the pangs of a despairing lover, his own Countess died, and the forlorn widower “bore off the belle,” to the infinite chagrin of many younger, but less attractive wooers.¹ The Countess was somewhat of a blue-stocking, and the most conspicuous patroness of the Scottish muses in her day. Her name appears on other dedication pages besides the honourable one of the Gentle Shepherd. Ramsay dedicated to her the music of his first book of songs,—a little work now very rare,—and at a later period he presented to her the original manuscript of his great pastoral poem, which she afterwards parted with to James Boswell. It is now preserved in the library at Auchinleck, along with the presentation letter of the poet.

Euphemia, or Lady Effie, as she was more generally called, a daughter of the Earl by his first Countess, was married to the celebrated “Union Lockhart,” and proved an able auxiliary to him in many of his secret intrigues on behalf of the exiled Stuarts. When not engaged in attending parliament, he resided chiefly at his country seat of Dryden, while Lady Effie paid frequent visits to Edinburgh, disguised in male attire. She used to frequent the coffee-houses, and other places of public resort, and joining freely in conversation with the whig partizans, she often obtained important information for her husband. It chanced on one occasion, that Mr Forbes, a zealous whig, but a man of profligate habits, had got hold of some important private papers, implicating Lockhart, and which he had engaged to forward to Government. Lady Euphemia Lockhart dressed her two sons—who were fair and somewhat effeminate looking, though handsome youths,—in negligee, fardingale, and masks; with patches, jewels, and all the finery of accomplished courtezans. Thus equipped, they sallied out to the cross, and watching for the whig gallant, they speedily attracted his notice, and so won on him by their attentions, that he was induced to accompany them to a neighbouring tavern, where the pseudo fair-ones, fairly drank him below the table, and then rifled him of the dangerous papers. This anecdote, which we have obtained from a grand-nephew of Lady Lockhart, furnishes, we think, a more graphic picture of the manners and notions of the age of Queen Anne than any incident we have met with.

¹ Sir John Clerk, Bart., as we have been told, by a descendant of the Earl of Eglinton,—after much coquetting and versifying, had actually made a declaration of his passion, which the father, at least, had so far under consideration, as to consult the Earl thereupon. His reply was,—“Bide awec, Sir Archie, my wife's very sickly!” a hint sufficient to settle the hopes of the Baronet of Pennycuick. Sir J. Clerk was the author of the fine Scottish song,—“O merry may the maid be that marries wi' the miller,” with the exception of the first verse, which is ancient. The Earl was little more than 40, when he married this, his third Countess.

The mansion of the Earl in the Old Stamp Office Close, was celebrated at a subsequent period as Fortune's tavern, a favourite resort of men of rank and fashion, while yet some of the nobles of Scotland dwelt in its old capital. At a still later period, it was the scene of the annual festivities during the sittings of the General Assembly of the Kirk, towards the close of last century. The old Earl of Leven, who was for many years the representative of majesty at the High Court of the church, annually took up his abode at this fashionable tavern, and received in state the *courtiers* who crowded to his splendid levees.¹ Still more strangely does it contrast with modern notions, to learn that the celebrated Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville, began practice as an advocate while residing on the third flat of the old land a little further down the street, at the head of the Flesh Market Close, and continued to occupy his exalted dwelling for a considerable time. Below this close, we again come to works of more modern date. Milne Square, which bears the date, 1689, exhibits one of the old town improvements, before its contented citizens dreamt of bursting their ancient fetters, and rearing a new city beyond the banks of the North Loch. To the east of this, the first step in that great undertaking demolished some of the old lanes of the High Street, and among the rest *the Cap and Feather Close*, a short alley which stood immediately above Halkerston's Wynd. The lands that formed the east side of this close still remain in North Bridge Street, presenting, doubtless, to the eye of every tasteful reformer, offensive blemishes in the modern thoroughfare; yet this unpicturesque locality has peculiar claims on the interest of every lover of Scottish poetry, for here, on the 5th of September 1750, the gifted child of genius, Robert Ferguson, was born. The precise site of his father's dwelling is unknown, but now that it has been transformed by the indiscriminating hands of modern improvers, this description may suffice to suggest to some, as they pass along that crowded thoroughfare, such thoughts as the dwellers in cities are most careless to encourage.²

Availing ourselves of the subdivision of the present subject, effected by the improvements to which we have adverted, we shall retrace our steps, and glance at such associations with the olden time as may still be gathered from the scene of the desolating fires that swept away nearly every ancient feature on the south side of the High Street. Within the last few months, the sole survivor of all the antique buildings that once reared their picturesque and lofty fronts between the Lawnmarket and Niddry's Wynd, has been demolished, to make way for the new Police Office. It had strangely withstood the terrible conflagration that raged around it in 1824, and, with the curious propensity that still prevails in Edinburgh for inventing suggestive and appropriate names, it was latterly universally known as "the Salamander Land."³ Through this a large archway led into the Old Fish Market Close, on the west side of which, previous to the Great Fire, the huge pile

¹ From this they were removed to "the King's Arms," Assembly Close, now the Commercial Bank Close. In 1812 an unwonted spectacle was exhibited at the head of the Old Stamp Office Close, in the execution of three young lads there, as the leaders in a riot that took place on New Year's Day of that year, in which several citizens were killed, and numerous robberies committed. The judges fixed upon this spot, as having been the scene of the chief bloodshed that had occurred, in order to mark more impressively the detestation of their crimes. A small work was published by the Rev. W. Innes, entitled "Notes of Conversations" with the criminals.

² In Edgar's map, the close is shown extending no further than in a line with Milne's Court, so that the whole of the east side still remains, including, it may be, the poet's birth place.

³ We have been told that this land was said to have been the residence of Defoe, while in Edinburgh; the tradition, however, is entirely unsupported by other testimony.

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OLD ASSEMBLY ROOMS

WEST BOW

of buildings in the Parliament Close reared its southern front high over all the neighbouring buildings with a majestic and imposing effect, of which the north front of James's Court—the only private building that resembles it—conveys only a very partial idea. Within the Fishmarket Close, was the mansion of George Heriot, the royal goldsmith of James VI.;¹ where more recently resided the elder Lord President Dundas, father of Lord Melville, a thorough *bon vivant* of the old claret-drinking school of lawyers.² There also, for successive generations, dwelt, and still dwells, another dignitary of the College of Justice, the grim executioner of the law's last sentence,—happily a less indispensable legal functionary than in former days. The present occupant of the hangman's house, annually draws "the dempster's fee," at the Royal Bank, and ekes out his slender professional income by cobbling such shoes as his least superstitious neighbours care to trust in his hands, doubtless, with many a sorrowful reflection on the wisdom of our forefathers, and "the good old times" that are gone by.³ The house has been recently rebuilt, but, as might be expected, it is still haunted by numerous restless ghosts, and will run considerable risk of remaining tenantless should its official occupant, in these hard times, find his occupation gone.

Borthwick's Close, which stands to the east, is expressly mentioned in Nisbet's Heraldry⁴ as having belonged to the Lords Borthwick, and in the boundaries of a house in the adjoining close, the property about the middle of the east side is described as the Lord Napier's; but the whole alley is now entirely modernised, and destitute of attractions either for the artist or antiquary. On the ground, however, that intervenes between this and the Assembly Close, one of the new Heriot schools has been built, and occupies a site of peculiar interest. There stood, until its demolition by the great fire of 1824, the old Assembly Rooms of Edinburgh, whither the directors of fashion removed their "General Assembly," about the year 1720,⁵ from the scene of its earlier revels in the West Bow. There it was that Goldsmith witnessed for the first time the formalities of an old Scottish ball, during his residence in Edinburgh in 1753. The light-hearted young Irishman has left an amusing account of the astonishment with which, "on entering the dancing-hall, he sees one end of the room taken up with the ladies, who sit dismally in a group by themselves; on the other end stand their pensive partners that are to be, but no more intercourse between the sexes, than between two countries at war. The ladies, indeed, may ogle, and the gentlemen sigh, but an embargo is laid upon any closer commerce!" Only three years after the scene witnessed by the poet, these grave and decorous revels were removed to more commodious rooms in Bell's Wynd, where they continued to be held till the erection of the new hall in George Street. Much older associations, however, pertain to this interesting locality, for, on the site occupied by the old Assembly Rooms there formerly stood the town mansion of Lord Durie, President of the Court of Session in 1642, and the hero of the merry ballad of "Christie's Will." The Earl of Traquair, it appears, had a lawsuit pending in the Court of Session, to which the President's opposition was dreaded.

¹ Dr Steven's Memoirs of George Heriot, p. 5.

² Vide "Convivial habits of the Scottish Bar."—Note to Guy Mannering.

³ Vide Chambers' Traditions, vol. ii. p. 184, for some curious notices of the Edinburgh hangmen.

⁴ Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 106.

⁵ In a sasine dated 1723, it is styled,—“That big hall, or great room, now known by the name of the Assembly House, being part of that new great stone tenement of land lately built,” &c. *Burg's Charter Room.*

In this dilemma he had recourse to Will Armstrong, a worthy descendant of the famous moss-trooper, executed by James V.,—who owed to the Earl's good services his escape from a halter. Will promptly volunteered to kidnap the President, on learning that he stood in his patron's way, and watching his opportunity when Lord Durie was riding out, he entered into conversation with him, and so decoyed him to an unfrequented spot called the Figgate Whins, near Portobello, when he suddenly pulled him from his horse, muffled him in his trooper's cloak, and rode off with the luckless judge trussed up behind him. Lord Durie was secured in the dungeon of an old castle in Annandale called the Tower of Græme, and his horse being found on the beach, it was concluded he had thrown his rider into the sea. His friends went into mourning, his successor was appointed, the Earl won his plea, and Will was directed to set his captive at liberty. The old judge was accordingly seized in his dark dungeon, muffled once more in the cloak, and conveyed with such dexterity to the scene of his capture that he long entertained the belief he had been spirited away by witches. The joy of his friends was probably surpassed by the blank amazement of his successor, when he appeared to reclaim his old office and honours. Accident long after led to a discovery of the whole story; but in those disorderly times it was only laughed at as a fair *ruse de guerre*.¹ In the ballad the bold moss-trooper alights at Lord Durie's door, and beguiles him with a message from "the fairest lady in Teviotdale." Sir Walter, however, confesses to such ekeing and patching of the traditionary fragments of the old ballad, that we must content ourselves with the fact of the stolen President's dwelling having stood on the site of the Heriot's school in the Assembly Close. Of this there can be no doubt, as it is referred to in the boundaries of various early deeds, in most of which the alley is styled Durie's Close.

The Covenant Close has already been referred to,² with its interesting old land, surmounted with three crow-stepped gables, forming the most prominent feature in the range of the High Street as seen from the south. The front lands immediately below this and the adjoining close, again direct us to associations with the olden time; though only, as occupying the site of what once was interesting, for fire and modern reform together have effected an entire revolution in this part of the town. Over the doorway immediately above Bell's Wynd an escallop shell, cut upon the modern stone lintel, marks the site of the "Clam Shell Turnpike," an edifice associated with eminent characters, and some of the most interesting eras in Scottish history. Maitland only remarks of it, in this close there "is an ancient chapel, which is still plainly to be seen by the manner of its construction, though



VIGNETTE.—Clam Shell Turnpike, from Skene. Taken down 1791.

¹ Christie's Will, Border Minstrelsy. There is little doubt of the general truth of this tradition. The leading facts, though without the names, are related in Forbes's Journal, and Scott tells us that some old stanzas of the ballad were current on the Border in his youth.

² Ante, vol. i. p. 93.

an ancient chapel, which is still plainly to be seen by the manner of its construction, though now converted into a dwelling-house,"¹ to which Arnot adds the more definite though scanty information, "At the head of Bell's Wynd there were an hospital and chapel, known by the name of *Maison Dieu*."² Like most other religious establishments and church property, it passed into the hands of laymen at the Reformation by an arbitrary grant of the crown, so that the original charters of foundation no longer remain as the evidences of its modern claimants. It is styled, however, in the earliest titles extant, "the old land formerly of George, Bishop of Dunkeld;" so that its foundation may be referred with every probability to the reign of James V., when George Crichton, who occupied that see from the year 1527 to 1543, founded the hospital of St Thomas near the Water-gate, about two years before his death, and endowed it for the maintenance of certain chaplains and bedemen, "to celebrate the founder's anniversary *obit*, by solemnly singing in the choir of Holyrood church, on the day of his death yearly, the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, for the repose of his soul," &c.³ There can be little doubt moreover that the old land, which was only demolished in the year 1789, was the same mansion of Lord Home, to which Queen Mary retreated with Darnley, on her return to Edinburgh in 1566, while she was haunted with the horrible recollections of the recent murder of her favourite, Rizzio, and her mind revolted from the idea of returning to the palace, the scene of his assassination, whose blood-stained floors still called for justice and revenge against the murderers. "Vpoun the xvij day of the said moneth of March," says the contemporary annalist,⁴ "our soueranis lord and ladie, accompanijt with tua thowsand horssmen come to Edinburgh, and lugeit not in thair palice of Halyrudhous, bot lugeit in my lord Home's lugeing, callit the auld bischope of Dunkell his lugeing, anent the salt trone in Edinburgh; and the lordis being with thame for the tyme, wes lugeit round about thame within the said burgh." Lord Home, who thus entertained Queen Mary, and Darnley as his guests, was, at that date, so zealous an adherent of the Queen, that Randolph wrote to Cecil from Edinburgh soon after, that he would be created Earl of March;⁵ and although, at the battle of Langside he appeared against her, he afterwards returned to his fidelity, and retained it with such integrity till his death, as involved him in a conviction of treason by her enemies. In the following reign this ancient tenement became the property of George Heriot, and the ground rents are still annually payable to the treasurer of the hospital which he founded.

The portion of the High Street still marked as the site of this ancient building, is closely associated with other equally memorable incidents in the life of Queen Mary; for almost immediately adjoining it, on the east side, formerly stood the famous Black Turnpike, already alluded to,⁶ as the town house of Sir Simon Preston, Provost of Edinburgh in 1567, to which the unhappy Queen was led by her captors, amid the hootings and execrations of an excited rabble, on the evening of her surrender at Carbery Hill. This ancient building was one of the most stately and sumptuous edifices of the Old Town. It was lofty and of great extent, and the tradition of Queen Mary's residence in it had never been lost

¹ Maitland, p. 189.

² Arnot, p. 246.

³ Maitland, p. 154. Keith furnishes this character of the bishop, "A man nobly disposed, very hospitable, and a magnificent housekeeper; but in matters of religion not much skilled."

⁴ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 94.

⁵ Keith, vol. ii. p. 292.

⁶ *Ante*, vol. i. p. 79.

sight of. A small apartment with a window to the High Street, was pointed out as that in which she spent the last night in the capital of her kingdom; the last on which, though captive, she was still its Queen. The magnificent and imposing character of this building, coupled with the historical associations attached to it, had given it an exaggerated importance in popular estimation, so that tradition assigned it a very remote antiquity, naming as its builder, King Kenneth III. who was slain A.D. 994; not without the testimony of heaven's displeasure thereat, for "the Moon looked bloody for several nights, to the infinite terror of those that beheld her," besides other equally terrible prodigies!¹ Maitland, the pains-taking historian of Edinburgh, detecting the improbability of such remote foundation for this substantial building, obtained access to the title deeds, and found a sasine of the date 1461, conveying it to George Robertson of Lochart, the son of the builder, which would imply its having been erected early in the fifteenth century. From other evidence, we discover that it belonged in the following century to George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, and was in all probability either acquired or rebuilt by him for the purpose of the religious foundation previously described. This appears from an action brought by "the Administrators of Heriot's Hospital, against Robert Hepburn of Bearford," in 1693,² for "a ground-annual out of the tenement called *Robertson's Inn*," and which at a subsequent date is styled, "his tenement in Edinburgh called the Black Turnpike." The pursuers demanded the production of the original writs from the Bishop of Dunkeld, and it would appear from the arguments in defence, that the building had been conferred by the Bishop on two of his own illegitimate daughters, and so diverted from the pious objects of its first destination, perchance as a sort of compromise between heaven and earth, by which more effectually to secure the atonement he had in view for the errors of a licentious life. To all this somewhat discrepant evidence we shall add one more fact from the *Caledonian Mercury*, May 15th 1788, the date of its demolition. "The edifice commonly called the Black Turnpike, immediately to the west of the Tron Church, at the head of Peebles Wynd, one of the oldest stone buildings upon record in Edinburgh, is now begun to be pulled down. . . . It may be true what is affirmed, that Queen Mary was lodged in it in the year 1567, but if part of the building is really so old, it is evident other parts are of a later date, for on the top of a door, the uppermost of the three entries to this edifice from Peebles Wynd, we observe the following inscription:—

PAX · INTRANTIBVS · SALVS · EXEVNTIBVS · 1674."

The whole character of the building, however, seems to have contradicted the idea of so recent an erection, and the inscription—a peculiarly inappropriate one for the scene of the poor Queen's last lodging in her capital,—is probably the only thing to which the date truly applied.³

We have passed over the intermediate alleys from the New Assembly Close to the Tron Church, in order to preserve the connection between the ancient lands of the Bishop of Dunkeld, that formed, at different periods, the lodging of Queen Mary. Stevenlaw's Close, the last that now remains of that portion of the High Street, still con-

¹ Abercrombie's *Martial Achievements*, vol. i. p. 194.

² *Fountainhall's Decisions*, vol. i. pp. 583, 688.

³ The same inscription still remains in *Blackfriars Wynd*, with the date 1619; we have stated reasons before for believing that dates were sometimes put on buildings by later proprietors.

tains buildings of an early date. Over a doorway on the west side, near the foot, is this motto :—THE · FEIR · OF · THE · LORD · IS · THE · BIGENEN · OF · VSDOM · I · H · ; and another bears a shield of arms, with an inscription partially defaced. We have not discovered any names among its earlier occupants worthy of note ; but immediately adjoining it, on the site of the west side of Hunter Square, formerly stood Kennedy's Close, a scene associated with one of the most eminent among the distinguished men of early times. In a M.S. memorandum book of George Paton, the Antiquary, the following note occurs :—“ George Buchanan took his last illness, and died in Kennedy's Close, first court thereof on your left hand, first house in the turnpike, above the tavern there ; and in Queen Anne's time this was told to his family and friends who resided in that house, by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Lord Advocate.” A reference to Edgar's map, shows that the close consisted of two small courts connected by a narrow passage, the site of the first of which will exactly correspond with that of the present Merchant's Hall. Here the eminent Scottish historian and reformer closed his active and laborious life on the 28th of September 1582. Finding, when on his death bed, that the money he had about him was insufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral, he sent his servant to divide it among the poor, adding,—“ that if the city did not choose to bury him, they might let him lie where he was.” He was interred on the following day in the Greyfriars' churchyard. It is justly to be regretted that the spot cannot now be ascertained, notwithstanding that, on an application made to the town council, so recently as 1701. “ The through-stane” was directed to be raised in order to preserve it.¹

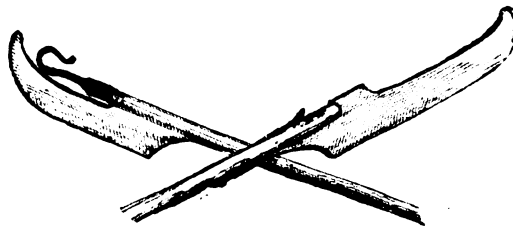
In the centre of the High Street, in front of the Black Turnpike, the ancient citadel of the Town-Guard cumbered the thoroughfare till near the close of last century, protected by its ungainly utility from the destruction that befel many of the more valuable relics of antiquity. During Cromwell's impartial rule in Edinburgh, it formed the scene of many of his acts of “ guid discipline, causing drunkardis ryd the trie meir, with stoppis and muskettis tyed to thair leggis and feit, a paper on thair breist, and a drinking cap in thair handis.”² This obsolete instrument of punishment, the wooden mare, still remained at the end of the old Guard-house, when Kay, the Caricaturist, made his drawing of it immediately before its destruction. The chronicles of this place of petty durance, could they now be recovered, would furnish many an amusing scrap of antiquated scandal, interspersed at rare intervals with the graver deeds of such disciplinarians as the Protector, or the famous sack of the Porteous mob. There, such fair offenders as the witty and eccentric Miss Mackenzie,³ daughter of Lord Royston, found at times a night's lodging, when she and her maid sallied out disguised as *preux chevaliers* in search of adventures. Oc-

¹ The following is an extract from the Council Records, 3d December 1701. “ The council being informed that the through-stane of the deceast George Buchanan lyes sunk under the ground of the Greyfriars, therefore they appoint the chamberlain to raise the same, and clear the inscription thereupon, so as the same may be legible.” Bann. Misc. vol. 2. p. 401. The site whereon his dwelling stood would form no inappropriate place for a commemorative tablet to replace the lost “ through-stane.” Dr Irvine his biographer, has strangely persisted, in the face of this evidence to affirm, that “ his ungrateful country never afforded his grave the common tribute of a monumental stone.” (Irving's Life of Buchanan, p. 309.) A scull believed to be that of the historian, is preserved in the museum of the University of Edinburgh, and is so remarkably thin as to be transparent. The evidence in favour of this tradition, though not altogether conclusive, renders the truth of it exceedingly probable.

² Nicoll's Diary, p. 69.

³ Ante, vol. i. p. 169.

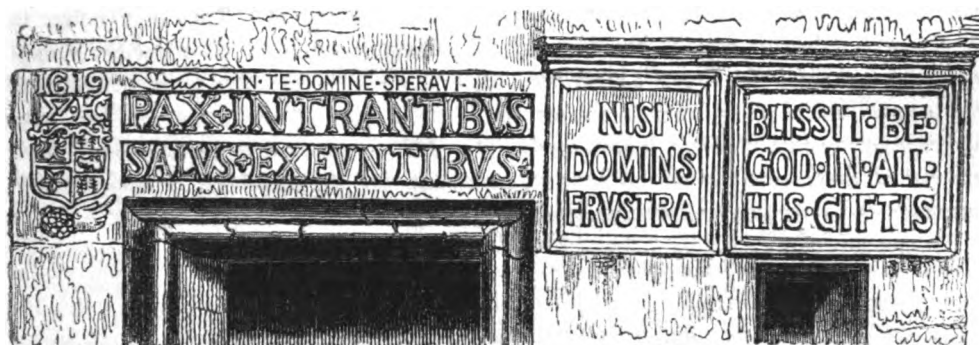
asionally even a grave judge or learned lawyer, surprised out of his official decorum, by the temptations of a jovial club, was astonished on awaking, to find himself within its impartial walls, among such strange bed fellows as the chances of the night had offered to its vigilant guardians. The demolition of the cross, however, rendered the existence of its unsightly neighbour the more offensive to all civic reformers. Ferguson, in his "Mutual Complaint of the Plainstones and Causey," humorously represents it as one of the most intolerable grievances of the latter, enough to "fret the hardest stane;" and at length in 1785, its doom was pronounced, and its ancient garrison removed to the New Assembly Close, then recently deserted by the directors of fashion. There, however, they were pursued by the enmity of their detractors. The proprietors of that *fashionable district* of the city were scandalized at the idea of such near neighbours as the *Town-Rats*, and by means of Protests, Bills of Suspension, and the like weapons of modern civic warfare, speedily compelled the persecuted veterans to beat a retreat. They took refuge in premises provided for them in the Tolbooth, but the destruction of their ancient stronghold may be said to have sealed their fate; they lingered on for a few years, maintaining an unequal and hopeless struggle against the restless spirit of innovation that had beset the Scottish capital, until at length in the year 1817, their final refuge was demolished, the last of them were put on the town's pension list, and the truncheon of the constable displaced the venerable firelock and Lochaber axe.



VIGNETTE—Lochaber axes from the Antiquarian Museum.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HIGH STREET AND NETHER BOW.



IN the centre of the High Street, not far from the site of the Tron Church, there stood in ancient times the Tron or public beam for weighing merchandise; generally styled in early deeds and writings the Salt Tron, to distinguish it from the Butter Tron, or Weigh House, already described. It is shewn in the curious Bird's Eye View of the Siege of Edinburgh Castle, drawn in 1573, in the form of a pillar mounted on steps, and with a beam and scales attached to it. This central spot was the scene of many singular exhibitions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, more especially in the exposure and punishment of culprits. While traitors and political offenders of all sorts expiated their crimes at the cross, the lesser offences of perjury and knavery were reserved by a discriminating system of justice for the more ignominious, though less deadly penalties of the Tron. One of the liveliest of the scenes which were enacted there during the 17th century, occurred on the arrival of the news in June 1650, that Charles II. had landed in the north. The estates of parliament were then assembled at Edinburgh, and the fickle populace were already heartily tired of trying to govern themselves. Nicoll, the old diarist, tells us, "all signes of joyes wer manifested in a special maner in Edinburgh, by setting furth of bailfyres, ringing of bellis, sounding of trumpettis, dancing almost all that night through the streitis. The pure kail wyfes at the Trone sacrificed thair mandis and creillis and the verie stoolis thai sat upone to the fyre."¹

It has been hastily concluded from this, by certain sceptical antiquaries, that, as Jenny

¹ Nicoll's Diary, p. 16.

Geddes, the heroine of 1637, was one of the *kail wives* of the Tron, her famous stool,—the formidable weapon with which she began the great rebellion, by hurling it at the Dean of St Giles' head,—must have perished in this repentant ebullition of joy, and accordingly that the relic shown in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries is undeserving of credit. We must protest, however, against so rash an hypothesis, which would involve the destruction of the sole monument of the immortal Janet's heroic onslaught; seeing there can be no reasonable question that a dame so zealous and devout, would reserve her best stool for the Sunday's services, and content herself with a common *creepie* for her week-day avocations at the Tron!¹ There is no doubt, however, that Jenny gave unequivocal proofs of her loyalty at a later period, as she is specially mentioned in the *Mercurius Caledonius*, a newspaper published immediately after the restoration, as having taken a prominent share in similar rejoicings on the coronation of the king in 1661. "But among all our bontados and caprices," says the curious annalist, "that of the immortal Jenet Geddis, Princesse of the Trone Adventurers, was most pleasant, for she was not only content to assemble all her creels, basquets, creepies, frames, and other ingredients that composed the shope of her sallets, radishes, turnips, carrots, spinage, cabbage, with all other sort of pot merchandise that belongs to the garden, but even her leather chair of state, where she used to dispense justice to the rest of her langkale vassals, were all very orderly burned; she herself countenancing the action with a high-flown flourish and vermilion majesty."

Halkerston's Wynd, which is the first close now remaining on the north side of the High Street, below the Tron Church, had once been a place of considerable note, but nearly every vestige of antiquity has disappeared. We have already given a view² of a very curious ancient lintel still remaining on the east side, which bears on it the monogram IHS, and a *cross-fleury*, with a coronet surmounting the letter D. The whole style and character of this door-way indicates a date long anterior to the Reformation, but the building to which it belonged has been demolished, all but a portion of the outer wall, and we have failed to obtain any clue to its early history. It was in its later state a timber fronted land, having a good deal of carving along the gables, and an ornamental stone stair-case projecting beyond, altogether indicating the remains of a magnificent and costly mansion of the olden time. Adjoining this, another door-way, forming a similar vestige of a more modern building, bears the common inscription, BLISSIT . BE GOD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS . and the initials and date . RD . D . 1609. This ancient alley formed one of the accesses to the city from the north, previous to the erection of the North Bridge. Fountainhall³ gives a curious account of an action brought by Robert Malloch in 1701, against the magistrates of Edinburgh, for shutting up the Halkerston's Wynd Port. From this it appears that a suburban village had sprung up on Moutrie's Hill, the site now occupied by James' Square, in which a number of poor weavers and other tradesmen had set up in defiance of the incorporations of the *Gude Toun*. The deacons finding their crafts in danger, took advantage of an approaching election to frighten the magistrates into a just sense of the enormity of tolerating such unconstitutional interlopers

¹ Even Jenny Geddes's well earned reputation "cannot live out of the teeth of emulation." Kincaid, (*Hist. of Edin.* p. 63,) puts forward a new claimant to her honours, "an old woman named Hamilton, grandmother to Robert Mein, late Dean of Guild officer in Edinburgh."

² *Ante*, vol. i. p. 118.

³ Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. ii. p. 110.

so near their ancient burgh. The port was accordingly shut up, and the sluices of the North Loch closed, so as to flood a small mound that had afforded a foot-path to the port for the free-traders of this obnoxious village. The battle was stoutly maintained for a time, but the magistrates finding the law somewhat rigid in its investigation of their right over the city ports, and the election most probably being satisfactorily settled meanwhile, they opened the port of their own accord, and allowed the sluices of the North Loch again to run.

In Kinloch's Close, immediately adjoining this wynd, there stood, till within the last four years, a very handsome and substantial old stone land, with large and neatly moulded windows, and abounding with curious irregular projections, adapting it to its straitened site. Over the main entrance was a finely carved lintel, having the Williamson arms boldly cut in high relief, with the initials I · W · accompanied by a singular device of the *cross of passion* springing from the centre of a *saltier*, and the inscription and date, in large Roman letters, FEIR · GOD · IN · LUIF · 1595.

The ancient timber fronted land which faces the street at the head of this close is one possessing peculiar claims to our interest, as the scene of Allan Ramsay's earlier labours, where, "at the sign of the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd," he prosecuted his latter business as author, editor, and bookseller. From thence issued his poems printed in single sheets, or half sheets, as they were written, in which shape they are reported to have found a ready sale; the citizens being in the habit of sending their children with a penny for "Allan Ramsay's last piece."¹ Encouraged by the favourable reception of his poetic labours, he at length published proposals for a re-issue of his works in a collected form, and, accordingly, in 1721, they appeared in one handsome quarto volume, with a portrait of the author from the pencil of his friend Smibert. Ramsay continued to carry on business at the sign of the Mercury, till the year 1725, so that nearly



all his original publications issued from this ancient fabric. In that year he removed to the famous land in the Luckenbooths, which has been already minutely described. The accompanying vignette represents the former building as it existed previous to 1845, when a portion of the timber front was removed, and the picturesque character of the old land somewhat marred by modern alterations.

Immediately to the east of Ramsay's old shop, a plain and narrow pend gives access to Carrubber's Close, the retreat of the faithful remnant of the Jacobites of 1688. Here, about half way down the close, on the east side, St Paul's chapel still stands, a plain and unpretending edifice, erected immediately after the Revolution. Thither the persecuted

¹ Scottish Biographical Dictionary, Article Ramsay.

VIGNETTE.—Allan Ramsay's shop, opposite Niddry's Wynd.

Bishop, and his stanch non-jurant followers repaired on the downfall of the national establishment of Episcopacy, and there they continued to worship within its narrow bounds, amid frequent interruptions, particularly after the rising of 1745, resolutely persisting for nearly a century in excluding the name of the "Hanoverian usurpers" from their devotions. The chapel is still occupied by a congregation of Scottish Episcopalians, but the homely worshippers of modern times form a striking contrast to the stately squires and dames who once were wont to frequent the unpretending fane that sufficed to accommodate the whole dis-established episcopacy of the capital.

Immediately below the chapel, a huge escalop shell, expanding over the porch of the main entrance to an old tenement, marks the clam-shell land. Here was the house of Ainslie's master, during Burns's visit to Edinburgh, at whose table the poet was a frequent guest, while on another floor of the same land, the elder Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, another of the poet's early friends, resided, until his removal to one of the first erections in the new town. The whole locality, indeed, is in some degree associated with the poet's friends and favourite haunts in the capital; for on the second floor of the ancient stone land which faces the High Street, at the head of the close, was the abode of Captain Mathew Henderson, "a gentleman who held the patent for his honours immediately from Almighty God," on whom the poet wrote the exquisite elegy preserved among his works, to the very characteristic motto from Hamlet, "Should the poor be flattered?"

This old close was the scene of the only unsuccessful speculation of another poet, whose prudent self-control enabled him through life to avoid the sorrows that so often beset the poet's path, and to find in the Muse the handmaid of wealth. Allan Ramsay was strongly attached to the drama, and in his desire for its encouragement, he built a play-house at the foot of Carrubber's close, about the year 1736, which involved him in very considerable expense. It was closed immediately after by the act for licensing the stage, which was passed in the following year, and the poet's sole resource was in writing a rhyming complaint to the Court of Session, which appeared soon after in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The abortive play-house has since served many singular and diverse purposes. It is the same building, we believe, which now bears the name of St Andrew's chapel, bestowed on it soon after the failure of the poet's dramatic speculation.¹ In 1773 it formed the arena for the debates of the Pantheon, a famous speculative club. In 1788, Dr Moyes, the ingenious lecturer on natural philosophy, discoursed there to select and fashionable audiences on optics, the property of light, and other branches of science, in regard to which his most popular qualification was, that he had been blind almost from his birth. Since then the pulpit of St Andrew's chapel has been filled by Mr John Barclay, the founder of the sect of modern Bereans; by the Reverend Mr Tait, and other founders of the Rowites, during whose occupancy the celebrated Edward Irvine frequently officiated. The chapel has also been engaged by Relief and Secession congregations, by the Roman Catholics, as a preaching station and school room, and more recently as a hall for lectures and debates of all kinds;—as strange and varied a medley of actors as even the fertile fancy of the poet could have foreshadowed for his projected play-house.

Should this old close escape the destruction that already threatens so many of the haunts of the olden time, it will not be considered by future generations as the least worthy of its

¹ Vide Arnot, p. 366.

associations, that there, on the west side, and near the foot of the close, were the work-shop and furnace of James Ballantine, the author of the "Gaberlunzie's Wallet," and the "Miller of Deanhaugh," as well as of some of the liveliest of our modern humorous Scottish songs,—never heard with such effect as when sung by himself. There, it is probable, many of his literary productions were matured, where also he completed, under numerous disadvantages, the successful designs for the competition of 1844, which gained for him the distinguished honour of executing the painted windows of the new House of Lords. The close has suffered little from modern alteration, and still presents a very pleasing specimen of the quaint and picturesque irregularity of style which gladdens the eye of the artist, and sets the reforming citizen a ruminating on the possibility of a new improvements commission, that shall sweep away such *rubbish* from every lane and alley of the ancient capital.

Bishop's Close, which adjoins this on the east, preserves in its name a memorial of "the Bishop's Land," one of the most substantial and noted among the private buildings in the High Street of Edinburgh. It owed this peculiar designation to its having been the residence of the eminent prelate, John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St Andrews, who, as appears from the titles, inherited it from his father, the Superintendent of Lothian. This fact is of some value, as serving to discredit the statement of his unrequited labours during the latter years of his life. The date on the old building was 1578, at which time the Superintendent would be in his sixty ninth year; and the house was sufficiently commodious and magnificent to serve afterwards for the town mansion of the Scottish primate. The ground floor of the building was formed of a deeply arched piazza, supported by massive stone piers, and over the main entrance a carved lintel bore the common inscription, *BLISSIT . BE . YE LORD . FOR . ALL . HIS . GIFTIS . 1578*, with a shield impaled with two coats of arms, and the initials V. N., H. M. A fine brass balcony projected from the first floor, which has doubtless often been decorated with gay hangings, and crowded with fair and noble spectators to see the riding of the parliaments, and the magnificent state pageants of early times. This interesting old tenement was totally destroyed by fire in 1814, but the carved lintel has been preserved, and is now built into the adjoining pend of North Gray's Close. From the evidence in the famous Douglas cause, it appears that Lady Jane Douglas resided in Bishop's Land soon after her arrival in Scotland, and was visited there by Lord Prestongrange, then Lord Advocate, in 1752.¹ Here also is stated to have been the house of the first Lord President Dundas, and the birth place of the celebrated Viscount Melville;² and so aristocratic were the denizens of this once fashionable tenement, that, we have been told by an old citizen, there was not a family resident in any of its flats, towards the end of the century, who did not keep livery servants,—a strange contrast to their plebeian successors. In the title deeds of Archbishop Spottiswood's Mansion, it is described as bounded on the east by the tenement sometime pertaining to James Henderson of Fordel. This was no doubt the house referred to in the "Diurnal of Occurrents," where it is said that Queen Mary, after the bootless muster at Carbery Hill, "quhen she come to Edinburgh, wes lugeit in James Hendersones hous of Fordell,"³ and although this is an obvious mistake, for Sir Simon Preston's residence in the Black Turnpike, it is probable she had lodged there on some earlier and happier occasion, when it was no very unwonted

¹ Case of Respondents, fol. p. 34.

² Chambers's Traditions, vol. i. Appendix.

³ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 115.

circumstance for her majesty to become the guest of the wealthier citizens of the capital. This old land however has also disappeared, and is now replaced by a plain and unattractive modern erection.

We furnish a view of a very curious and beautiful Gothic corbel, carved in the form of a grotesque head, with leaves in its mouth, which was found on the east side of North Gray's Close, about two years since, in excavating for a tan pit. It was discovered six feet below the ground; and in the course of digging, the workmen came upon a large fragment of wall, of very substantial masonry, running from east to west, and completely below the foundations of the neighbouring houses.

We have examined a large collection of title deeds of the surrounding property in the hope of discovering the existence of some religious house here in early times, of which these are fragments, but the earliest, which is dated 1572, describes nearly the whole close as then in a waste and ruinous state,—a condition to which it appears to be rapidly returning, after having, from the appearance of the old buildings, afforded fitting residence for titled courtiers and wealthy burgesses. These discoveries, however, furnish evidence of the great changes which have taken place on Edinburgh in common with most other ancient cities. This portion of the town has evidently been totally destroyed in the conflagration effected by the Earl of Hertford's army in 1544; and while the houses in the main street were speedily rebuilt, the ground to the north lay for nearly thirty years an unoccupied waste, so that when the citizens at length began to build upon it, they founded their new dwellings above the consolidated ruins of the older capital. The carved stone is now preserved in the nursery of Messrs Eagle and Henderson, Leith Walk.



There is a fine old stone land at the head of Bailie Fife's Close on the west side, which bears, on a large lintel over one of the upper windows, the Trotter arms, in bold relief; two stars in chief, and a crescent in base; with the initials I. T., I. M., and the date 1612.¹ Another ancient tenement remains in good preservation, in Chalmers's Close, which possesses claims of special interest to the antiquary, as one of the very few now left in which the curious sculptured stone niches occur, that have been frequently referred to in the course of this work. The house stands within the close, on the west side. On the first floor a small niche appears, at the right side of the doorway, immediately on entering, and in the opposite wall there is another of large size, and a highly ornamental character,—though now dilapidated, and greatly obscured with white wash,—through which a window has been broken, looking into Barringer's Close. Alongside of the latter niche a narrow turnpike stair has formerly afforded access to the floor above, and the general construction of the apartment, renders it exceedingly probable that it may have been used as a private chapel before the Reformation. It is now subdivided by flimsy modern partitions, and

¹ Another large shield occurs on a pannel above the ground floor, with the initials I. P., M. H., and the Parley Arms, (Yorkshire,)—a chevron between three mullets,—impaled with those of Hay. Over a neatly moulded doorway below is the inscription in Roman characters, now greatly defaced:—BE . PASIENT . IN . THE . [LORD.]

furnishes a residence for several families. The only clue afforded by the title-deeds to former proprietors of any note, is, that here resided a worthy burghess of last century, competitor with the author of the Gentle Shepherd, in his earlier occupation, and the grandfather of one of the most eminent of the modern citizens of Edinburgh, Lord Francis Jeffrey, with whom this old close was a favourite haunt in his boyhood. Over the doorway of the adjoining stair-case, which projects into the close, the name of **John Hope** is cut in large old English characters, with a defaced coat of arms between, and on the lowest crow-step a shield is sculptured with armorial bearings, and the initials I · H · The dilapidated building retains considerable traces of former magnificence, as well as undoubted evidence of an early date. The large windows have been each divided with a mullion and transom, and are finished with unusually rich mouldings at the sides. The hall on the first floor, which has been an apartment of considerable size, is now subdivided into separate dwellings, by slight wooden partitions. There can be little doubt, we think, from the style of lettering in the inscription, and the general character of the building, that this is the mansion of John de Hope, the founder of the Hopetoun family, who came from France in 1537, in the retinue of the Princess Magdalene, Queen of James V., and who afterwards became a substantial burgher in the Luckenbooths, visiting the continent from time to time, and importing French velvets, silks, gold and silver laces, and the like valuable foreign merchandise.¹ It seems to be unquestionable that no other John Hope existed in Scotland till the reign of Charles I.; a date long posterior to that of the building: This was his descendant, Sir John Hope of Craighall, the eldest son of the celebrated Lord Advocate, who was Lord President of the Court of Session during the Protectorate, and to whom Charles II. owed the shrewd, though unpalatable advice, "to treat with Cromwell for the one half of his cloake before he lost the quhole."

In the next alley, which is termed Sandillands' Close, a large and remarkably substantial stone tenement forms the chief feature on the east side, and presents an appearance of great antiquity. The ground floor of this building is vaulted with stone, and entered by doorways with pointed arches, and over the lower of these is a neat small pointed window, or loop-hole, splayed and otherwise constructed as in early Gothic buildings. We present a view of one of the most interesting pieces of ancient sculpture in Edinburgh, which forms part of the internal decorations of this old edifice. It seems to be intended to represent the offering of the wise men, and is well executed in bold relief, although, like most other internal decorations in the old town, plentifully besmeared with white wash. It appears to form the end of a very large antique fireplace, the remainder of which is concealed under panneling and partitions of perhaps a century old, while another, of the contracted dimensions usual in later times, has been constructed in the further corner. It is exceedingly probable that much more of this interesting sculpture remains to be disclosed on the removal of these novel additions of recent date. Such of the title-deeds of this property as we have obtained access to are unfortunately quite modern, and contain no reference to early proprietors; but one of the present owners

¹ Coltness Collections, Mait. Club, pp. 16, 17. From which it appears that John de Hope and his son Edward occupied the two booths east of the Old Church style.

described a sculptured stone, containing a coat of arms surmounted by a mitre, that was removed from over the inner doorway some years since, and which appears to have been the Kennedy arms. If it be permissible to build on such slender data, in the absence of all other evidence, we have here, in all probability, the town mansion of the good Bishop Kennedy, the munificent patron of learning, and the able and upright councillor of James II. and III.¹ The whole appearance of the building is perfectly consistent with this supposition. The form and decorations of the doorways, particularly those already described, all prove an early date; while the large size and elegant mouldings of the windows, and the massive appearance of the whole building, indicate such magnificence as would well consort with the dignity of the primacy at that early period.



A very fine specimen of the ancient timber-fronted lands of the old town stood till within the last few years at the head of Trunk's Close, behind the Fountain Well, on the site of a plain stone tenement that has since replaced it. The back portion of the old building, however, still remains entire, including several rooms with fine stuccoed ceilings, and one large hall beautifully finished with richly carved pillasters and oak panneling, which is described in the title-deeds, as "presently"—*i. e.* in 1739—"a meeting-house posset by Mr William Cocburn, minister of the gospel." It had previously formed the residence of Sir John Scot of Ancrum, the first of that title, who was created a baronet by Charles II. in 1671. From him it was acquired by Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Stobs, in 1703, and here resided that baronet, and his more illustrious son, General Elliot, the gallant defender of Gibraltar, better known by his title of Lord Heathfield. On the pediment over the window of a fine old stone land on the west side of Trunk's Close, is the inscription in bold characters:—HODIE · MIHI · CRAS · TIBI · It is worthy of notice that the same inscription is appropriately carved in similar characters over the splendid tomb of Thomas Bannatine, in the Greyfriars churchyard. Several other ancient tenements in this close are worthy of inspection for their antique irregularity of construction.

But the chief *Lion*, among the venerable fabrics of the old town of Edinburgh, has long been the singularly picturesque structure which terminates the High Street towards the east, and forms the mansion provided shortly after the Reformation, at the expense of the town, for its first parish minister, the great reformer, John Knox. Chambers remarks of it:—"this is perhaps the oldest stone building of a private nature now existing here; for

¹ A confused tradition of its having been an Episcopal residence is still preserved among the inhabitants, founded, it may be presumed, on the sculptured mitre. The old dame who first admitted us to inspect it, stated that it was *Bishop Sandillands'* house; a name, it is perhaps unnecessary to remark, not to be found in Keith's list.

VIGNETTE.—Ancient Sculpture, Sandillands' Close.

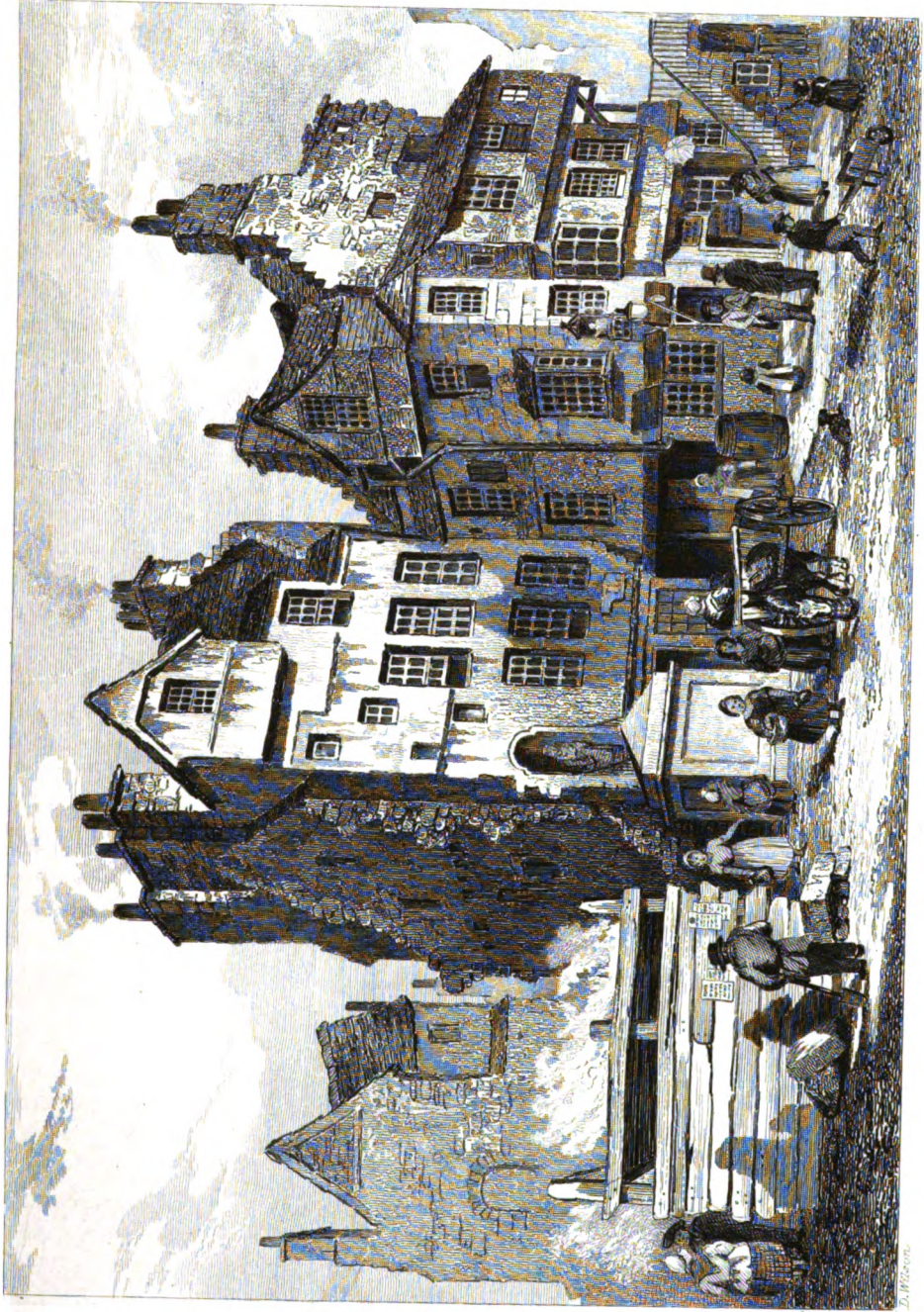
it was inhabited, before John Knox's time, by George Durie, Abbot of Dunfermline, and Arch-Dean of St Andrews." He was promoted to Dunfermline by King James V., in 1539; and was canonized by the church of Rome, within two years after his death. No evidence now appears in the title-deeds of the property to afford a clue to this or any other of its earlier possessors, but the tradition has been long universally received which assigns it as the residence of the reformer. Here, in the year 1559, he took up his abode, along with his faithful wife, Marjorie Bowes, his companion during years of wandering and danger, but who did not long survive his settlement in this more promising place of rest. To the same house, in 1563, he brought his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of "the good Lord Ochiltree," whose affections his defamers affirmed he had gained by sorcery. Nicol Burne, in that curious work, "A disputation concerning the controversit headdis of religion," represents him going for his bride "rydand with ane gret court on ane trim gelding, nocht lyk ane prophet or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, bot lyk as he had bene ane of the blude royal, with his bendes of taffetic feschnit with golden ringis and precious stanes; and as is planelie reportit in the country, be sorcerie and witchcraft, did sua allure that puir gentlewoman that scho could not leve without him."

The house where Knox has received the messengers of Queen Mary, the nobles of the court, and the leaders of the Congregation, is now rapidly falling to decay; but it still retains the traces of former magnificence. From its peculiar position, projecting into the thoroughfare, and presenting its western front up the High Street, it is one of the most remarkable houses in the old town; forming a subject well calculated to tempt the artist's pencil, even though it wanted the adventitious aid of historical associations. A long inscription extends over nearly the whole front, immediately above the ground floor; but it is unfortunately concealed, all but the first two words, by the sign-boards of the traders who have succeeded to the occupancy of the ancient tenement. It is in large Roman characters, and is understood to run thus:—LVFE · GOD · ABOVE · AL · AND · YOVR · NICHTBOVR · AS · YI · SELF. A small effigy of the Reformer has long decorated the angle of the old building, on which the pious care of successive tenants has been expended, with a zeal not always appreciated by their fellow-citizens. He occupies a pulpit of Presbyterian simplicity of form, and points with his right hand to a curiously carved stone, whereon the name of the Deity appears, in Greek, Latin, and English, surrounded by a glory on the side towards the preacher, while clouds gather around it on the further side. Over a large bow window a carved stone is pierced with a circular aperture, now closed up, but which, from its position, suggests the idea of having been constructed for a public clock. Such of the stone-work as remains exposed is of polished ashlar, but numerous timber additions have been made to the original fabric in early times. Among these, a small apartment on the south front is, in all probability, the study constructed for him at the expense of the town, soon after he took up his abode there, in conformity with the following act of Council:—"The samine day the Provost, Baillies, and Counsail, ordanis the Dene of Gyld, with all diligence, to make ane warme studye of dailles to the minister, John Knox, within his hous, abone the hall of the same, with lyght and wyndokis thereunto, and all other necessaris." There, therefore, we may believe, was the place whither the reformer withdrew for private study and devotion, and where the chief portion of his history was written.

The plaster ceiling of the hall appears to be a work about the time of Charles II., but a great portion of it has now given way, and discloses the original oak beams and planking of the floor above, which are painted in the style we have already described in the account of Blyth's Close. Tradition has industriously laboured to add to the associations of the old building by such clumsy inventions as betray their spuriousness. A vault underneath the street, which contains a covered well, is exhibited to the curious by the tenant of the "laigh shop," as the scene of secret baptisms of children before the Reformation; at a time when it more probably formed a convenient receptacle for the good Abbot's wines, and witnessed no other Christian rites than those over which his butler presided. The "preaching window" has also been long pointed out, from whence the Reformer, according to the same authority, was wont to address the populace assembled below. The interesting narrative of his last sermon in St Giles's Church, and the scene that followed, when his congregation lingered in the High Street, watching, as for the last time, the feeble steps of their aged pastor, seems the best confutation of this oft repeated tradition, which certainly receives no countenance from history. Among these spurious traditions, we are also inclined to reckon that which assigns the old Reformer's house to the celebrated printer, Thomas Bassandyne. Society Close, in its neighbourhood, was indeed formerly called Bassandyn's Close, as appears by the titles; but even if this be in reference to the printer, which we question, it would rather discredit than confirm the tradition, as another land intervened between that and the famed old tenement.¹ There is an access to Knox's house by a stair in the angle behind the Fountain Well, in the wall of which is a doorway, now built up, said to communicate with a subterranean passage leading to a considerable distance towards the north.

It is impossible to traverse the ruined apartments of this ancient mansion without feelings of deep and unwonted interest. To the admirers of the intrepid Reformer it awakens thoughts not only of himself but of the work which he so effectually promoted: to all it is interesting as intimately associated with memorable events in Scottish history. There have assembled the Earls of Murray, Morton, and Glencairn; Lords Boyd, Lindsay, Ruthven, and Ochiltree, and many others, agents of the Court, as well as its most resolute opponents; and within the faded and crumbling hall, councils have been matured that exercised a lasting influence on the national destinies. There, too, was the scene of his

¹ We have discovered in the Burgh Charter Room a deed of disposition referring to part of this property, and of an earlier date than any now in the hands of the proprietors, viz:—"Disposition of House in Nether Bow, March 1, 1624, *Alesoun Bassendyne and others to John Binning.*" One of the *others* is Alexander Crawford, her husband, while the property appears to have been originally acquired by her as spouse of umq^{le} Alexander Ker, two of whose daughters by her are named, along with their husbands, as joint contracting parties in the disposition; and it may be added, "umq^{le} Alexander Richardson, some time spouse to me, the said Alesoun," an intermediate husband, is mentioned in the deed. The house is situated down the close, and is bounded "by the waste land descending north to the wall of Trinity College on the north . . . and the waste land of umquile James Bassendyne on the south parts." This deed is dated only 47 years after the death of the printer; so that James was, in all probability, a contemporary or predecessor. Neither he nor Alesoun is referred to among the printer's relatives in his will, (*Bann. Misc. vol. ii. p. 203.*) but "Alesoun Bassindyne, my dochter," is appointed one of the executors in the will of Katharine Norwell, the widow of the printer, who had married a second time, and died in 1593, (*ibid. p. 220.*) and to whom she leaves her "twa best new blak gowneis, twa pair of new cloikis, and twa new wylie cottis, with ane signet of gold, and ane ring with twa stonis." She was probably the old printer's only child, and an infant at the time of his decease. The house, which we believe to have been that of Thomas Bassendyne, is described towards the close of this chapter.



JOHN KNOX'S HOUSE.

METHROW 1842.

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escape from the shot of an assassin, which struck the candlestick before him as he sat at his studies; and within these walls he at length expired, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, "not so much oppressed with years as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labour of body and anxiety of mind."

A range of very picturesque buildings once formed the continuous row from "Knox's corner," to the site of the ancient Nether Bow Port, but that busy destroyer, Time, seems occasionally to wax impatient of his own ordinary slow operations, and to demolish with a swifter hand what he has been thought inclined to spare. One of them, a curious specimen of the ancient timber-fronted lands, and with successive tiers of windows divided only by narrow pilasters, has recently been curtailed by a story in height and robbed of its most characteristic features, to preserve for a little longer what remains, while the house immediately to the east of Knox's, which tradition pointed out as the mansion of the noble family of Balmerinoch, has now disappeared, having literally tumbled to the ground. Immediately behind the site of this, on the west side of Society Close, an ancient stone land, of singular construction, bears the following inscription over its main entrance:—R · H · HODIE · MIHI · CRAS · TIBI · CVR · IGITVR · CVRAS · There appears to have been a date, but it is now illegible. The doorway gives access to a curious hanging turnpike stair, supported on corbels formed by the projection of the stone steps on the first floor beyond the wall. This is the same tenement already referred to as the property of Aleson Bassendyne, the printer's daughter. The alley bears the name of Bassendyne's Close, in the earliest titles; more recently it is styled Panmure Close, from the residence there of John Maule of Inverkeilory, appointed a Baron of the Court of Exchequer in 1748,—a grandson of the fourth Earl of Panmure, attainted in 1715 for his adherence to the Stuarts. The large stone mansion which he occupied at the foot of the close, was afterwards acquired by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, founded in 1701, and erected into a body-corporate by Queen Anne. Its chief apartment was used as their Hall; from which circumstance the present name of the close originated.

The old timber land to the east of this close is said to have been the Excise Office in early times, in proof of which the royal arms are pointed out, over the first floor. The situation was peculiarly convenient for guarding the principal gate of the city, and the direct avenue to the neighbouring seaport. It is a stately erection, of considerable antiquity, and we doubt not has lodged much more important official occupants than the Hanoverian excisemen. It has an outside stair leading to a stone turnpike on the first floor, and over the doorway of the latter is the motto DEVS · BENEDICTAT. Since George the Second's reign, the Excise Office has run through its course with as many and rapid vicissitudes as might suffice to mark the career of a profligate spendthrift. In its earlier days, when a floor of the old land in the Nether Bow sufficed for its accommodations, it was regarded as foremost among the detested fruits of the Union. From thence it removed to more commodious chambers in the Cowgate, since demolished to make way for the southern piers of George IV. Bridge. Its next resting-place was the large tenement on the south side of Chessel's Court, in the Canongate, the scene of the notorious Deacon Brodie's last robbery. From thence it was removed to Sir Lawrence Dundas's splendid mansion in St Andrew's Square, now occupied by the Royal Bank. This may be considered its culminating point. It descended thereafter to Bellevue House, in Drummond

Place, built by General Scott, the father-in-law of Mr Canning, which has been demolished only last year (1846) in completing the tunnel of the Edinburgh and Leith Railway; and now, we believe, the exciseman no longer possesses a "local habitation" within the Scottish capital.

On the southern side of the High Street, below "the Tron," some few remains of antiquity have escaped the ruthless hand of destruction, though the general character of the buildings partakes largely of modern tameness and insipidity. Previous to the commencement of the South Bridge in 1735, the east end of the Tron Church, which has since been considerably curtailed, abutted on to a large and stately range of building of polished ashlar, with an arched piazza, supported on stone pillars, extending along nearly the whole front. A large archway in this building, immediately adjoining the church, formed the entrance to Marlin's Wynd, in front of which a row of six stones, forming the shape of a coffin, indicated the grave of Marlin, a Frenchman, who, having first paved the High Street in the sixteenth century, seems to have considered that useful work his best public monument; but the changes effected on this locality have long since obliterated the pavior's simple memorial. The same destructive operations swept away the whole of Niddry's Wynd, an ancient alley, abounding with interesting fabrics of an early date, and associated with some of the most eminent citizens of former times. Here was the civic palace of Nicol Udward, Provost of Edinburgh in 1591, a large and very handsome quadrangular building, of uniform architectural design and elegant proportions, in which King James VI. and his Queen took up their residence for a time in 1591.¹ This building appears, from the description of it, to have been one of the most magnificent private edifices of the Old Town.² In the same wynd, a little farther down on the opposite side, stood St Mary's Chapel, an ancient religious foundation dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was founded and endowed by Elizabeth, Countess of Ross, in 1504, the widow of John, Lord of the Isles, who was outlawed and forfeited by James III. for treasonable correspondence with Edward IV. of England. She was the eldest daughter of James, Lord Livingston, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, and appears to have held considerable property, by special charters in her own behalf. A modern edifice had been substituted for the ancient chapel before the demolition of Niddry's Wynd, which formed the hall of the corporation of Wrights and Masons. It was acquired by them in 1618, since which they have borne the name of the *United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel*. The modern erection appeared from its style to have been built early in the eighteenth century, and its name is now transferred to their unpretending hall in Bell's Wynd.

On entering Dickson's Close, a little farther down the street, the first house the visitor comes to, on the left hand, is a neat and very substantial stone edifice, evidently the work of Robert Mylne, and built about the period of the Revolution. Of its first occupants we can give no account, but one of its more recent inhabitants is calculated to give it a peculiar interest. Here was the residence of David Allan, "our Scottish Hogarth," as he was called, an artist of undoubted genius, whose fair fame has suffered by the tame insipidity which inferior engravers have infused into his illustrations to Ramsay and Burns. The satiric humour and drollery of his well-known "rebuke scene" in a country church, and

¹ Ante, vol. i. p. 83. ² For a detailed account of this very interesting old building, vide *Minor Antiquities*, p. 207.

the lively expression and spirit of the "General Assembly," and others of his own etchings, amply justify the character he enjoyed among his contemporaries as a truthful and humorous delineator of nature. He succeeded Runciman as master of the Academy established by the Board of Trustees, the classes of which then met in the College, while he received private pupils at his own house in Dickson's Close.¹ A little lower down the close on the same side, an old and curious stone tenement bears on its lower crowstep the Haliburton Arms, impaled with another coat, on one shield. It is a singularly unique and time-worn edifice, evidently of considerable antiquity. A curious double window projects on a corbeled base into the close, while the whole stone-work is so much decayed as greatly to add to its picturesque character. In the earliest deed which exists, bearing the date 1582, its first proprietor, Master James Halyburton,—a title then of some meaning,—is spoken of in indefinite terms as *umpte* or deceased; so that it is a building probably of the early part of the sixteenth century. It afterwards was the residence of Sir John Haliday of Tillybole. The most interesting fact, however, brought out by these early titles, occurs in defining the boundaries of the property, wherein it is described as having "the trans of the prebendaries of the kirk of Crichtoun on the east pairt and oyr partes;" so that a considerable part of Cant's Close appears to have been occupied in early times by ecclesiastical buildings in connection with the church of Crichton, erected into a collegiate foundation, in 1449, by Sir Wm. Crichton, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.² Directly opposite to the site of this is another ecclesiastical edifice, the mansion of the Abbot of Melrose, which enters from Strichen's Close. It is a large and substantial stone building, enclosing a small square or court in the centre, the original access to which seems to have disappeared. The whole building has evidently undergone great alterations; and over one of the doorways, a carved stone bears a large and very boldly cut shield, with two coats of arms impaled, and the date 1600. There seems no reason to doubt, however, that the main portion of the Abbot's residence still remains. The lower story is strongly vaulted, and is evidently the work of an early date. The small quadrangle also is quite in character with the period assumed for the building; and at its north-west angle in Cant's Close, where a curiously carved fleur-de-lis surmounts the gable, a grotesque gargoyle of antique form serves as a gutter to the roof. Here, therefore, we may assign, with little hesitation, the residence of Andrew Durie, nominated by James V. to the Abbey of Melrose in the year 1526; and whose death, Knox assures us, was occasioned by the terror into which he was put on the memorable uproar on St Giles's day, 1558. The close, which is called the Abbot of Melrose's in its earlier titles, assumes that of Rosehaugh Close at a later period, from the Abbot's lodging having become the residence of the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, king's advocate for Scotland after the Restoration. During a great part of last century, this ancient mansion was occupied by Alexander Fraser of Strichen, who was connected by marriage with the descendants of Sir George Mackenzie, and who sat for nearly

¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, Nov. 15, 1788.—His terms were one guinea per month for three lessons in the week, a fee that undoubtedly restricted his private classes at that period to the most wealthy and fashionable students of art. The date of the advertisement is the year of his marriage.

² "It appears from old writings and charters connected with the house, that the tenement fronting the street, by which it was bounded on the north, had been, before the Reformation, the lodging of the Provost of Crichton."—*Traditions*, vol. i. p. 92. The old building is long since destroyed.

half a century on the Bench under the title of Lord Strichen. From him it derived its present name of Strichen's Close, and there is little probability now that any of his plebeian successors will rob it of the title.

The front tenement, which extends between Strichen's Close and Blackfriars' Wynd, presents no features of attraction as it now stands. It is a plain modern land, re-erected after the destruction of its predecessor in one of the alarming fires of the memorable year 1824, and constructed with a view to the humbler requisites of its modern tenants; but the old building that occupied its site was a handsome stone fabric of loftier proportions than its plebeian successor, and formed even within the present century the residence of people of rank. The most interesting among its later occupants was Lady Lovat, the relict of the celebrated Simon, Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1747; in consequence of which it was generally known as *Lady Lovat's Land*. It possesses, however, more valuable associations than this, its ancient title-deeds naming as the original proprietor, Walter Chepman, the earliest Scottish printer, who introduced the printing-press into Scotland in the year 1507, under the munificent auspices of James IV. To the press of Walter Chepman, the admirers of our early national literature still turn, not without hope that additions may yet be made, by further discovery of its invaluable fragments, to the writings of those great men who adorned the Augustan age of Scotland. The building, however, which perished in the conflagration of 1824, did not appear to be of an earlier date than the period of the Revolution; soon after which many of the substantial stone tenements of the Old Town were erected. The more ancient edifice seems to have been one of the picturesque timber-fronted erections of the reign of James IV., and formed the subject of special privileges granted by that monarch to his valued servitor. In the Registers of the Privy Seal, (iv. 173,) there is preserved the following royal license, dated at Edinburgh, February 5, 1510:—"A licence maid to Walter Chepman, burges of Edinburgh, to haif staris toward the Hie Strete and calsay, with bak staris and turngres in the Frer Wynd, or on the forgait, of sic breid and lenth as he sall think expedient for entre and asiamentis to his land and tenement; and to flit the pend of the said Frer Wynd, for making of neidful asiaments in the sammyn; and als to big and haif ane wolt vnder the calsay, befor the for front of the said tenement, of sic breid as he thinkis expedient; with ane penteis vnder the greissis of his for star," &c. The whole grant is a curious sample of the arbitrary manner in which private interests and the general convenience of the citizens were sacrificed to the wishes of the royal favourite. The printing-house of Chepman and Millar was in the *south gait*, or Cowgate¹ of Edinburgh, as appears from the imprint on the rare edition of "The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane," and others of the earliest issues from their press in the year 1508; and it no doubt was the same tenement with which, in 1528, Chepman endowed an altar in the chapel of the Holy Rood, in the lower churchyard of St Giles. We would infer, however, from the nature of the royal grant, that the ancient building at the Nether Bow was the residence of Walter Chepman, who was a

¹ The names of streets so common in Scotland, formed with the adjunct *gate*, rarely if ever refer to a gate or port, according to the modern acceptation of the word; but to *gait* or street, as the *King's hie gait*, or, as here, the *south gait*, meaning the south street. The Water Gate, which is the only instance of the ancient use of the word in Edinburgh, is invariably written *yett* in early notices of it.

citizen of wealth and importance, occupying a high office, probably of an ecclesiastical character, in the royal household, and in his titles is styled *Walter Chepman de Everland*.¹

A broad archway, which leads through the modern successor of the old typographer's *fore tenement*, gives entrance to Blackfriars' Wynd, the largest, and undoubtedly the most important, of all the ancient closes of Edinburgh. It derives its name from having formed the approach to the monastery of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, founded by Alexander II. in 1230, which stood on the site of the Old High School. This royal foundation, which formed for a time the residence of its founder, received from him, among other endowments, a gift of the whole ground now occupied by the wynd, to erect houses thereon. For fully five centuries this ancient alley may be said to have formed one of the most aristocratic districts of the Scottish capital; and it continued even after the Reformation to be the chosen place of residence of some of the chief Scottish ecclesiastics. It possessed, till a few years since, much of the fine antique picturesqueness that anciently pertained to it, as will be seen in the accompanying view, drawn in 1837; but since then a rapid demolition of its decaying tenements has taken place; and although it still retains some exceedingly interesting relics of the past, the general aspect of the *Preaching Friars' Vennel* has given place to rude and tasteless modern erections, or to ruinous desolation.

We have already noticed, in the introductory sketch, several of the most memorable incidents of which this ancient alley has been the scene. There some of the keenest struggles of the rival factions took place during the famous contest, known as "cleanse the causeway;" down its straitened thoroughfare the victorious adherents of the Earl of Angus rushed to assault the palace of the Archbishop of Glasgow at the foot of the wynd, and from thence to wreak their vengeance on his person in the neighbouring church of the Black Friars, whither he fled for shelter. In the reign of James VI., in 1588, it was the arena of a similar contest between the retainers of the Earl of Bothwell and Sir William Stewart, when the latter was slain there by the sword of his rival. The next remarkable incident that occurred was in 1668, when Sharpe, Archbishop of St Andrew's, was seated in his coach at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, waiting for the Bishop of Orkney, whose residence would appear from this to have been in the wynd. Just as the Bishop was approaching the vehicle, Mitchell, the fanatic assassin already described,² and an intimate acquaintance of the no less notorious Major Weir,³ aimed a pistol at the Primate, the contents of which missed him, but dangerously wounded the Bishop of Orkney, who at the moment was stepping into the coach. Since then the old alley has quietly progressed in its declining fortunes to its present state of desertion and ruin.

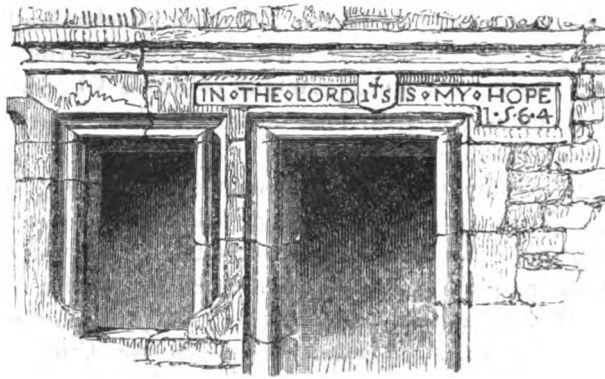
On the west side, near the head of the wynd, a decorated lintel bore the inscription and device represented in the accompanying wood-cut, with the date 1564. The ground floor of this building consisted of one very large apartment, with a massive stone pillar in the centre, which formed the place of worship to which the adherents of the covenanted kirk retreated on the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs at the Revolution; and it is described, in an advertisement of the year 1798, as "the Auld Cameronian Meeting-house." Tra-

¹ It may be remarked here that Chepman's spouse, Agnes Coburn, is mentioned in the same titles, showing that he was not bound by ecclesiastical vows of celibacy.

² Ante, vol. i. p. 101.

³ Ravallac Redivivus, Lond. 1678, p. 12.

dition pointed out the upper flat of the same tenement as having been the lodging of "Nicol Muschett, of ill memorie," while a student at college, though it appears, from the



evidence on his trial, that his final residence was in Dickson's Close. This ancient tenement, which was latterly regarded with interest, as bearing the oldest date on any private building in Edinburgh, excepting that already described in Blyth's Close, has been recently entirely demolished, and replaced by a plain unpretending erection.¹ But we have since discovered a stone in

the possession of James Gibson Craig, Esq., bearing the much earlier date of 1506, which was removed from a house taken down some years since, near the foot of this same wynd, on the opposite side. The stone appears to have formed the top of a dormer window, being triangular in shape, and surmounted by an unusually large crescent. The date is cut partly in Arabic, and partly in Roman numerals, thus:—15VI. The site of this ancient fabric is now a ruinous waste, rendering it impossible to recover any traces of its proprietors, either in early or later times.

Immediately adjoining the former building, on the west side of the wynd, is the venerable mansion of the Earls of Morton, an ancient timber-fronted land, already referred to in the description of Brown's Close, Castlehill,² with its fine Gothic doorway, and sculptured tympanum, containing a coronet supported by unicorns. Such portions of the stone front as remain exposed, exhibit the feature, which occurs so frequently in buildings of an early date, of moulded windows originally divided by stone mullions. The desolate and deserted aspect of the vice-regal residence, comports with the degraded state of this once patrician locality, now "fallen on evil days and evil tongues." It has long been entirely shut up, defying as completely all attempts at investigating its interior, as when *Queen's men* and *King's men* were fighting in the High Street, and Kirkaldy of Grange was bent on driving the Regent and all his followers from the town. The evidence of this mansion having been occupied by the Regent Morton is not complete, though it is undoubtedly of an earlier date, and appears to have been possessed by his immediate ancestors. The earliest title which we have seen is a disposition by Archibald Douglas, younger of Whittingham, one of the senators of the College of Justice, in which it is described as "that tenement which was some time the Earl of Mortoun's." From this, it may be inferred to have been the residence of his direct ancestor, John, second Earl of Morton, who sat in the Parliament of James IV. in 1504,³ and whose grandson, William Douglas of Whittinghame, was created a senator of the College of Justice in 1575. He was a contemporary of his kins-

¹ The ancient tenement at the head of Monteith's Close, bore the date 1562, with an inscription over the doorway, of a remarkably fine inner turnpike, but it was demolished several years before the one in Blackfriars' Wynd.

² Ante, vol. i. p. 138.

³ Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 269.

man, the Regent Morton, and an associate with him in the murder of Bizzio ; so that, if the sculpture over the doorway be a device adopted by the Morton family, the corresponding one, already described in the Castle Hill, may be considered as affording considerable probability of that house having been the mansion of the Regent. William Douglas, Lord Whittinghame, resigned his office as a judge in 1590, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, the granter of the disposition referred to, a special favourite of James VI., who accompanied him on his matrimonial voyage to Norway, and was rewarded for his "lovable service," soon after his return, by this judicial appointment.

The portion of the wynd, below this old mansion, included, along with the building of 1564, recently swept away to make room for an extensive printing-office, another which was long used as a Roman Catholic Chapel. This is an antique stone fabric, from which a curiously projecting timber front was removed only a few years before its desertion as a place of worship. On the fifth flat of this tenement, approached by a steep and narrow turnpike stair, a large chamber was consecrated to the worship of the Roman Catholic Church, during the greater part of last century, and probably earlier. When we last visited this primitive retreat of "Old Giant Pope, after the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days," there still remained painted, in simple fashion, on one of the doors immediately below the chapel, the name of the old Bishop, *Mr Hay*. This was the once celebrated opponent of Bishop Wm. Abernethy Drummond, of the Scottish Episcopal Church, under the initials J. H., and well worthy of note in the history of the locality as the last of the Bishops of Blackfriars' Wynd, where the proudest nobles of Scotland were wont of old to give place to the dignitaries of the Church.

Nearly opposite to this, a large and ancient tenement still stands entire in the midst of ruins, the upper story of which was also used as a chapel. It was dedicated to St Andrew, and formed the chief Roman Catholic place of worship in Edinburgh, until it was abandoned in the year 1813, for the ecclesiastical edifice at Broughton Place, dedicated in honour of the Virgin Mary. The interior of the chapel retained much of its original state when we recently visited it. The frame-work of the simple altar-piece still remained, though the rude painting of the Patron Saint of Scotland, which originally filled it, had disappeared. Humble as must have been the appearance of this chapel, even when furnished with every adjunct of Catholic ceremonial for Christmas or Easter festivals, aided by the imposing habits of the officiating priests that gathered around its little altar, yet men of ancient lineage were wont to assemble among the worshippers ; and during the abode of the royal exiles at Holyrood Palace, Count d'Artois, the future occupant of the French throne, with the Princes and their attendants, usually formed part of the congregation. An internal staircase formed a private entrance for the priests and other officials from the floor below, where the straitened accommodations it afforded sufficed for the humble residence of these successors of the Cardinals and Archbishops who once dwelt in the same neighbourhood. The public access was by a projecting stone staircase, which forms the approach to the different floors of the building. Over this doorway is a sculptured lintel, with a shield of arms in the centre, bearing three stars in chief, with a plain cross, and over it two swords saltier ways. On either side of this is cut, in large antique characters, the inscription MISERERE MEI DEVS ; and below, the initials G. G. The latter have

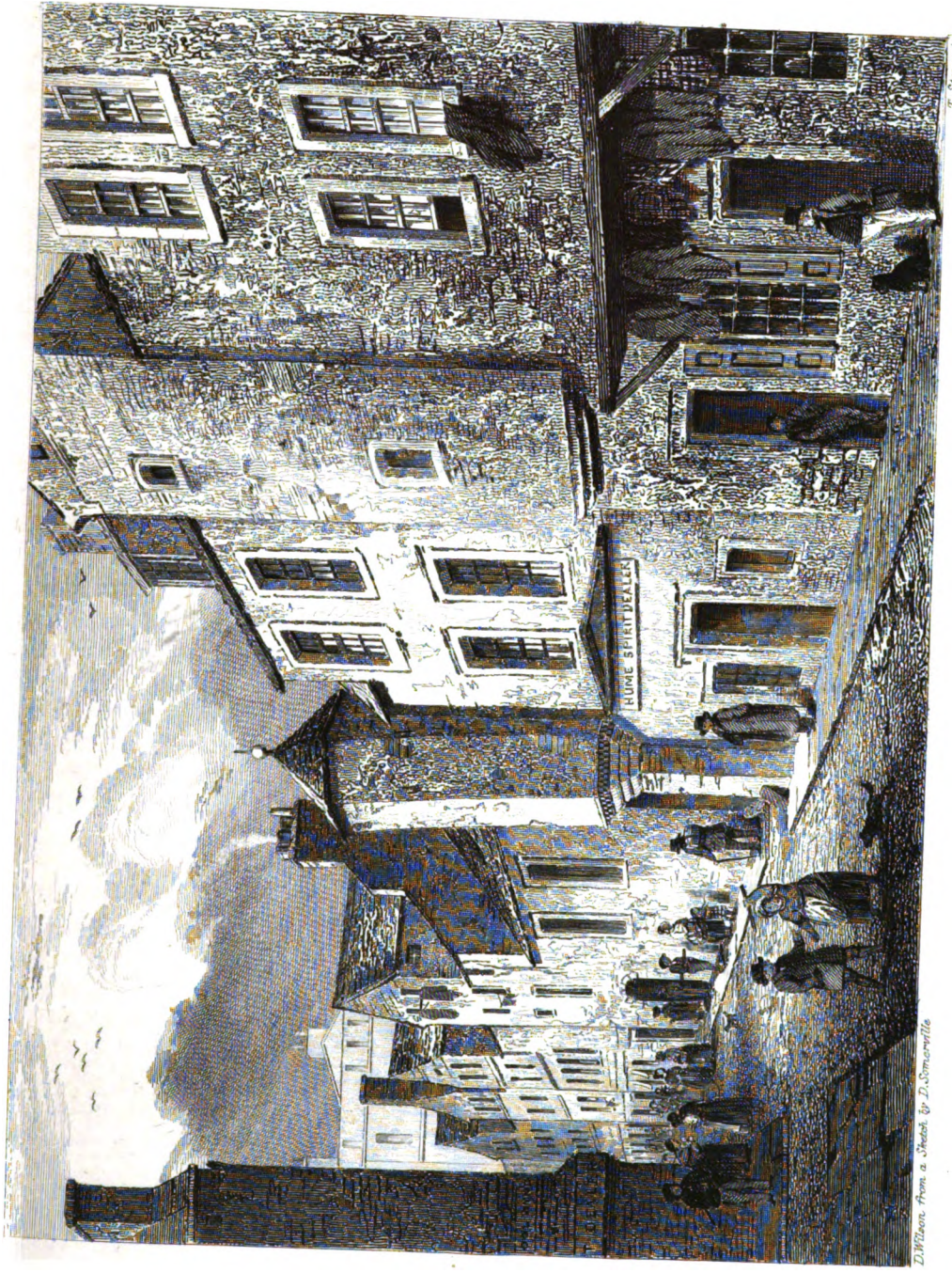
been mistaken for the date 1616; but no one who examines the style of the doorway and inscription will feel any hesitation in assigning to it a date of fully a century earlier.

Only one other old building, now deserted and hastening to decay, remains on the west side of the wynd, bearing the pious inscription over its entrance:—*THE FEIR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGYNNING OF AL VISDOME.* Below this, at the corner of the Cowgate, formerly stood the English Episcopal Chapel, founded by Lord Chief Baron Smith in 1722. It was a plain edifice, possessing no external features of an ecclesiastical character, as may be seen in our engraving of “Cardinal Beaton’s House,” where it appears on the further side of the wynd. The building existed exactly a century, having been demolished in 1822, after serving during that period as the place of worship of all loyal and devout Episcopal High Churchmen, at a time when Episcopacy and Jacobitism were nearly synonymous in Scotland. The interest that attaches to it as a feature of the olden time, when such a site was deemed the most suitable that could be selected for a chapel, probably attended by a congregation including a greater array of rank and fashion than any that now assembles in Edinburgh, is further increased from its having been the place of worship of Dr Johnson, when residing with Boswell, in 1773.

Here also, and not improbably on the same site, was the town mansion of William St Clair, Earl of Orkney, the founder of Roslin Chapel, who maintained his Court at Roslin Castle, with a magnificence far surpassing what had often sufficed for that of the Scottish Kings. He was royally served at his own table,—if we are to believe the genealogist,—in vessels of gold and silver; Lord Dirleton being his master of the household, Lord Borthwick his cup-bearer, and Lord Fleming his carver, with men of ancient rank and lineage for their deputies. His Princess, Margaret Douglas, was waited on, according to Father Hay, by seventy-five gentlewomen, whereof fifty-three were daughters of noblemen, “all cloathd in velvets and silks, with their chains of gold, and other pertinents; together with two hundred rideing gentlemen, who accompanied her in all her journeys. She had carried before her, when she went to Edinburgh, if it were darke, eighty lighted torches. Her lodgeing was att the foot of Blackfryer Wynde; so that, in a word, none matched her in all the countrey, save the Queen’s Majesty.”¹

Directly opposite to the site of Baron Smith’s Chapel still stands one of the palatial edifices of the old capital, popularly known as Cardinal Beaton’s house,—a sufficiently humble and unpretending structure, as it now appears, and greatly modified by later alterations, but which undoubtedly formed an archiepiscopal residence of no mean character in the sixteenth century. This ancient mansion, however, falls more correctly to be treated of as one of the most interesting among the older features of the Cowgate. The vignette at the beginning of the chapter exhibits the richest group of mottoes to be found on any building in Edinburgh. They form the decorations on the architrave of a decayed old stone land on the same side, near the head of the wynd. A shield, charged with armorial bearings, is sculptured on the left side of the doorway, as represented in the wood-cut, with the initials E. K., and the date 1619. The building above this, at the head of the east side, is one of much more pretension externally, having a front to the wynd of polished ashlar, and a range of unusually large windows, separated only by very narrow uprights. It is decorated

¹ Genealogie of the Sainte Claires of Rosslyn, p. 26.



CARDINAL BEATON'S HOUSE,
FOOT OF BLACK-FRIARS' WYND, COWGATE, 1617.

D. Wilson. From a Sketch by D. Somerville

J. Neill

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with string courses and rich mouldings, and forms a fine specimen of an old-town mansion of the sixteenth century. It is stated by Chambers to be entailed with the estate of the Clerks of Pennycuick, and to have formed the town residence of their ancestors. This we presume to have been the latter residence of Alexander, fifth Lord Home; the same who entertained Queen Mary and Lord Darnley in his lodging near the Tron in 1565, and who afterwards turned the fortune of the field at the battle of Langside, at the head of his border spearmen. He was one of the noble captives who surrendered to Sir William Durie, on the taking of Edinburgh Castle in 1573. He was detained a prisoner, while his brave companions perished on the scaffold; and was only released at last, after a tedious captivity, to die a prisoner at large, in his own house,—the same, we believe, which still stands in Blackfriars' Wynd. A contemporary writer remarks:—"Wpoun the secund day of Junij [1575], Alexander Lord Home wes releivit out of the Castell of Edinburgh, and wardit in his awne lugeing in the heid of the Freir Wynd, quha wes carijt thairto in ane bed, be resson of his great infirmitie of seiknes."¹

Scarcely another portion of the Old Town of Edinburgh is calculated to impress the thoughtful visitor with the same melancholy feelings of a departed glory, replaced by squalor and decay, which he experiences after exploring the antiquities of the Blackfriars' Wynd. There still stands the deserted and desecrated fane; the desolate mansions of proud and powerful nobles and senators; and the degraded palace of the Primate and Cardinal, where even Scottish monarchs have been fitly entertained; and now the ground which Alexander II. bestowed on the Dominican Monks, as a special act of regal munificence, seems no longer possessed of value enough to tempt the labours of the builder.

Emerging again through the archway at the head of the wynd, which the royal master-printer *fitted* at his pleasure above three centuries ago, an ancient, though greatly modernised, tenement in the high street, to the east of the wynd, attracts the notice of the local historian as the mansion of Lord President Fentonbarns, a man of humble origin, the son of a baker in Edinburgh, whose eminent abilities won him the esteem and the suffrages of his contemporaries. He owed his fortunes to the favour of James VI., by whom he was nominated to fill the office of a Lord of Session, and afterwards knighted. We are inclined to think that it is to him Montgomerie alludes in his satirical sonnets addressed to *M. J. Sharpe*,—in all probability an epithet of similar origin and significance to that conferred by the Jacobites on the favourite advocate of William III. The poet had failed in a suit before the Court of Session, seemingly with James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and he takes his revenge against "his Adversars Lawyers," like other poets, in satiric rhyme. The lack of "gentle blude" is a special handle against the plebeian judge, in the eyes of the high-born poet; and his second sonnet, which is sufficiently vituperative, begins:—

A Baxter's bird, a blutter beggar borne!²

This old mansion now forms the sole survivor of all the long and unbroken range of buildings between St Giles's Church and the Nether Bow. In its original state it was one of the very finest specimens of this ancient style of building in Edinburgh, having the main timbers and gables of its oaken façade richly carved, in the fashion of some of the mag-

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 348.

² *Alexander Montgomerie's Poems*; complete edition, by Dr Irving, p. 74.

nificent old timber fronts of the opulent Flemings in Bruges or Ghent. A new timber front, of a very common-place description, now replaces these venerable features of the sixteenth century, and brings it into dull uniformity with its modern neighbours. It thrusts its newly patched and painted frontispiece, with all the brazen, or rather, in this case, wooden-faced, impudence of an impostor into the gaze of strangers, making a very shabby and unsuccessful attempt to pass itself off for stone. Some few of its features, however, still survive the transformation of newer fashions. The roof is surmounted by a range of crow steps of the form already described as peculiar to the fifteenth, or earlier part of the sixteenth centuries; and an outside stair leads to the first floor, where the ancient stone turnpike remains in its original state, decorated with the abbreviated motto, in fine ornamental gothic characters: DEO · HONOR · ET · GLIA ·¹ Another inscription, we are told, still exists over the entrance from Todrick's Wynd, being only covered up with plaster, by a former tenant, to save the expense of a signboard. A little way down this wynd, on the east side, a favourite motto appears, in bold Roman letters, over an ancient doorway, repeating with slight variation the same sentiment already noticed in other instances: THE FEIR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGENING OF VISDOME. It occurs on an ancient tenement which bears evident tokens of having at one time been the residence of rank and fashion; and an old iron knobbed door on one of the floors still possesses the antiquated appendage of a rising pin. Todrick's Wynd acquires a special interest from its association with a memorable deed in the bloody annals of our national history. It was by this ancient alley that the Earl of Bothwell and his merciless accomplices and hirelings proceeded towards the gate of the Blackfriars' Monastery, in the Cowgate, on the 9th of February 1567, to fire the powder by which the house of the Provost of the Kirk-of-Field was blown into the air, and Lord Darnley, with his servant, Taylor, slain.

The closes between this and the Netherbow mostly exist in the same state as they have done for the two last centuries or more, though wofully contaminated by the slovenly habits of their modern inmates; this portion of the town being occupied now by a lower class than many of the ancient alleys described in the higher part of the town. South Gray's, or the Mint Close, however, forms an exception. It is a comparatively spacious and aristocratic looking alley; and some feeble halo of its ancient honours still lingers about its substantial and picturesque mansions. It affords a curious instance of a close retaining for centuries the name of a simple burges, while it has been the residence of nobles and representatives of ancient families, in striking contrast to the variable nomen-

¹ This ancient tenement is thus described in a disposition by Sir Michael Preston to Lawrence Kenrison, dated 1626, and preserved in the Burgh Charter Room:—"That tenement or land, some time waste and burnt be the English; some time pertaining to umquile Mr John Preston, some time President of the College of Justice, and my father; on the south part of the King's High Street, and on the east side of the trance of the wynd, called the Blackfriars' Wynd, betwixt the said trance and land above, pertaining to the heirs of umquile Walter Chepman, upon the west," &c. It is pointed out in Chambers's Traditions as that of Lord Fentonbarns. The allusion to its burning shows the date of its erection to be somewhat later than 1544. But it again suffered in the civil wars that followed, though probably not so completely as to preclude repair, notwithstanding its appearance among the list of houses destroyed during the siege of Edinburgh in 1572:—"Thir ar the houssis that wer distroyit this moneth (May); to wit, the Erle of Maris, now present Regent, lugeing in the Cowgait, Mr Johne Prestonis in the Frier Wynd, David Kinloch Baxteris house in Dalgleish Closs," &c. (Diarn. of Occurrents, p. 299.) The last mentioned is that of a wealthy burges of the period, whose name was borne by the close immediately below Niddry's Wynd, the same, we presume, that is alluded to here. Its site is now occupied by the east side of Niddry Street.

clature of most of the alleys of the old town. It is mentioned by its present name in a charter dated 1512, in which "*umq'e* John Gray, burges of Edinburgh," is the author of earlier titles referred to. By an older deed, the ground on which it is built appears to have formed part of the lands of the Monastery of Greyfriars. In "the Invention and Wryts of ane lodging," &c. on the east side of the close, a charter is mentioned, dated 1456, "granted be David Rae, vicar generall; Ffindlay Ker, prior; and the rest of the Convent of Graifriers att Edinburgh, to Andrew Mowbray, burges," of a certain piece of land on which it is built, bounded by the king's wall on the south. About halfway down the close, on the east side, stands the ancient mansion of the Earls of Selkirk, having a large garden to the south, while the principal entrance is from Hyndford's Close. The building has the appearance of great antiquity. The ground floor of the south front seems to have been an open arcade, or cloister, and on the west wall a picturesque turret staircase projects from the first floor into the close. This ancient tenement has successively formed the residence of the Earls of Stirling, of the Earl of Hyndford, and, at a still later period, of Dr Rutherford, the maternal grandfather of Sir Walter Scott. Hyndford's Close, which forms the main approach to the house, retains its antique character, having on the west side a range of singularly picturesque overhanging timber gables. It is neatly paved, terminating in a small court, open at one side; and, altogether presents a very pleasing specimen of the retired, old fashioned gentility which once characterised these urban retreats. The fine old house described above, which forms the chief building in the close, possesses peculiar interest as a favourite haunt of Scott during his earlier years. Its vicinity to the High School gave it additional attractions to him, while pursuing his studies there, and he frequently referred, in after life, to the happy associations he had with this alley of the old town. A very pleasing view of the house, from the garden, is given in the Abbotsford edition of the great novelist's works.

To the south of this mansion, in the Mint Close, a lofty tenement, enclosing a small paved area, still bears the name of Elphinstone's Court, having been built by Sir James Elphinstone in 1679. From him it passed to Sir Francis Scott of Thirlstane; by whom it was sold to Patrick Wedderburn, Esq., who assumed the title of Lord Chesterhall on his elevation to the Bench in 1755. His son Alexander, afterwards the celebrated Lord Loughborough, Lord High Chancellor of England, disposed of it shortly after his father's death to Lord Stonefield, who sat as a judge in the Court of Session during the long period of thirty-nine years, and died in the Mint Close at the beginning of the present century; so recent is the desertion of this ancient locality by the grandees of the capital.

Various ancient tenements are to be found in the adjoining closes, of which tradition has kept no note, and we have failed to obtain any other clue to their history. One large mansion in South Foulis Close bears the date 1539 over its main doorway, with two coats of arms impaled on one large shield in the centre, but all now greatly defaced. Another, nearly opposite to it, exhibits an old oak door, ornamented with fine carving, still in tolerable preservation, although the whole place has been converted into storerooms and cellars. But adjoining this is a relict of antiquity, beside which the works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appear but as things of yesterday; and even the ancient chapel of St Margaret, in the Castle, becomes a work of comparatively recent date.

In the front of a tall and narrow tenement at the Nether Bow, nearly opposite to John Knox's house, a piece of ancient sculpture has long formed one of the most noted of the antiquities of Edinburgh. It consists of two fine profile heads, in high relief and life size, which the earliest writers on the subject pronounce to be undoubted specimens of Roman art. It was first noticed in 1727, in Gordon's valuable work on Roman Antiquities, the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, accompanied by an engraving, where he remarks:—"A very learned and illustrious antiquary here, by the ideas of the heads, judges them to be representations of the Emperor SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, and his wife JULIA. This is highly probable and consistent with the Roman history; for that the Emperor, and most of his august family, were in Scotland, appears plain in Xephiline, from Dio."¹ This idea, thus first suggested, of the heads being those of Severus and Julia, is fully warranted by their general resemblance to those on the Roman coins of that reign, and has been confirmed by the observation of every antiquary who has treated of the subject. A tablet is inserted between the heads, containing the following inscription, in antique characters:—

In sudore vultus tui veteris, pane tuo. · 6 · 3.²

This quotation from the Latin Bible, of the curse pronounced on our first parents after the fall, is no doubt the work of a very different period, and was the source of the vulgar tradition gravely combated by Maitland, our earliest local historian, that the heads were intended as representations of Adam and Eve. These pieces of ancient sculpture, which were said, in his time, to have been removed from a house on the north side of the street, have probably been discovered in digging the foundations of the building, and along with them the Gothic inscription,—to all appearance a fragment from the ruins of the neighbouring convent of St Mary, or some other of the old monastic establishments of Edinburgh. The words of the inscription exactly correspond with the reading of Gutenberg's Bible, the first edition, printed at Mentz in 1455; and would appear an object worthy of special interest to the antiquary, were it not brought into invidious association with these valuable relics of a remoter era. The characters of the inscription leave little reason to doubt, that it is the work of the same period, probably only a few years later than the printing of the Mentz Bible.

The old tenement, which is rendered interesting as the conservator of these valuable monuments of the Roman invasion, and is thus also associated in some degree with the introduction of the first printed Bible into Scotland, appears to be the same, or at least occupies the same site, with that from whence Thomas Bassendyne, our famed old Scottish typographer, issued his beautiful folio Bible in 1574. The front land, which contains the pieces of Roman sculpture, is proved from the titles to have been rebuilt about the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the room of an ancient timber-fronted land, which was "lately, of need, taken down," having no doubt fallen into ruinous decay. The back part of the tenement, however, retains unequivocal evidence of being the original building. It is approached by the same turnpike stair, from the Fountain Close, as gives access to

¹ *Itiner. Septent.* p. 186.

² Maitland and others have mistaken the concluding letters of the inscription, as a contraction for the date, which the former states as 1621, and a subsequent writer as 1603. Mr D. Laing was the first to point out its true meaning as a contracted form of reference to Genesis, chapter 3.—Vide *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii. p. 287; where a very accurate and spirited engraving of the Sculpture, by David Allan, is introduced.

the front land; and owing to the alteration in the level of floors, and other changes consequent on the wedding of this wrinkled dowager of the sixteenth century with its spruce partner of the eighteenth, an explorer of its intricate labyrinths, finds himself beset by as many inconveniences as Mr Lovel experienced on his first introduction to the mitred Abbot of Trocosey's Grange, at Monkbarne. On ascending the winding stair, by which he reaches the door of the first floor, he has then to descend another; and after threading a dark passage on this lower level, somewhat in the form of the letter Z, he reaches a third flight of steps equally zigzag in their direction, whose ascent—if he have courage to persevere so far—lands him in “that other tenement of land, commonly called the Fountain, a little above the Nether Bow, on the south side of the High Street of Edinburgh; and which tenement of land, formerly called the Backland, some time belonged to Nicol and Alexander Bassandene, lawful sons to Michael Bassandene, lying in the closs called Bassandene's Closs,” &c. Such is the description of this ancient fabric, as given in the earlier title-deeds of the present proprietor. The same building is repeatedly referred to in the evidence of the accomplices of the Earl of Bothwell in the murder of Darnley, an event which took place in the lifetime of the old printer. In the deposition of George Dalgleish, one of those who was executed for his share in that crime, it is stated, that “eftir thay enterit within the [Nether Bow] Port, thai zeid up abone Bassyntine's house, on the south side of the gait, and knockit at ane dur beneth the sword slippers, and callit for the Laird of Ormestounes, and one within answerit he was not thare; and thai passit down a cloiss beneth Frier Wynd, and enterit in at the zet of the Black Friers.”¹ This reference clearly indicates the tenement which we have described; the only question is, whether it was that of Thomas Bassendyne, the printer, referred to in the imprint of his rare 4to edition of Sir David Lindsay's Poems, printed in 1574, while “dwelland at the Nether Bow.” In the statement of debts appended to his will,² there was “awand to Alesoun Tod, mother to the defunct, for half ane zeiris male of the house iiii l. ;” while there was due to him, “be Michael Bassinden, bruther to the said vmquhile Thomas, of byrun annuellis, the soume of ane hundreth ten pundis.” From this, it seems probable that his mother was liferented in that part of the house which formed the printer's dwelling and establishment, while the remainder, belonging to himself, was occupied by his brother. At all events he leaves, in his will, “his thrid, the ane half thairof to his wyf, and the vthir half to his mother, and Michael, and his bairnes;” in which we presume to have been included the house, which we find both he and *his bairns* afterwards possessing, and for which no rent would appear to have been exacted during the lifetime of the printer.

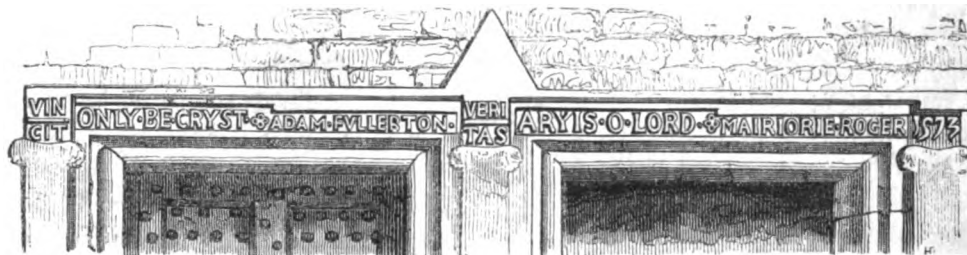
The name of the Fountain, by which the old tenement is distinguished in the titles, is curious. The well, which now bears the same name, had in all probability formerly stood either in front of this building, or more probably,—from the speciality of the name, and the narrowness of the street at that point,—it had formed a portion of the building itself; for it is not styled the Fountain Land, according to usual custom, but simply *The Fountain*. In the evidence of the Earl of Bothwell's accomplices, already referred to, it is stated by William Powrie, that after “thai hard the crack, thai past away togidder out at the Frier Yet, and sinderit quhen thai came to the Cowgate, pairt up the Blackfrier

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, Supplement, p. 495.

² Bannatyne Misc., vol. ii. p. 202.

Wynd, and pairt up the cloiss which is under the Endmyleis Well.”¹ Whether this be the same well is doubtful, as no close lower down appears as a thoroughfare in early or later maps; it is evident, however, that the name of the Fountain Close is derived from some other, and probably much more important, conduit, than the plain structure beside John Knox’s house, which has long borne the same designation.

On the east side of the close, directly opposite the entrance to Bassendyne’s house, an ancient entrance of a highly ornamental character appears. It consists of two doorways, with narrow pilasters on each side supporting the architrave, which is adorned with a variety of inscriptions, as represented in the accompanying wood-cut, and altogether forms a remarkably neat and elegant design. This is the mansion of Adam Fullerton, whose



name is carved over the left doorway,—an eminent and influential citizen in the reign of Queen Mary, and an active colleague and coadjutor of Edward Hope in the cause of the Reformation. In 1561, his name appears as one of the bailies of Edinburgh, who, along with Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, the provost, laid hold of a poor craftsman who had been guilty of the enormity of playing Robin Hood, and condemned him to be hanged,—a procedure which ended in the mob becoming masters of the town, and compelling the magistrates to sue for the mediation of the Governor of the Castle, and at length fairly to succumb to the rioters.² Only two months after this commotion, Queen Mary landed at Leith, and was loyally entertained by the town of Edinburgh,—Adam Fullerton, doubtless, taking a prominent part among her civic hosts. In the General Assembly held at Leith, January 16, 1571, his name occurs as commissioner of the town of Edinburgh.³ On the 23d of June following, during the memorable siege of Edinburgh by the Regent Mar, in the name of the infant King, the burgesses of the capital who favoured the Regent, to the number of two hundred men, united themselves into a band, and passing privately to Leith, which was then held by the Regent’s forces, they there made choice of Adam Fullerton for their captain.⁴ The consequence of this was his being “denuncit our souerane ladies rebell, and put to the horne” on the 18th of August following;⁵ and “vpoun the tuantie nynt day of the said moneth, James Duke of Chattellarault, George Erle of Huntlie, Alexander Lord Home, accompanyit with diuerse prelatiis and barronis, past to the tolbuith of Edinburgh; and thair sittand in parliament, the thrie estaitts being conuenit, foirfaltit Matho Erle of Lennox, James Erle of Mortoun, John Erle of Mar,” and many other nobles, knights, and burgesses, of the parliament, foremost among the latter of whom is Adam Fullerton, burgess of Edinburgh, “and decernit ilk ane of thame to

¹ Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, Supplement, p. 567.

² Diurn. of Occurrents, p. 283; ante, vol. i. p. 69.

³ Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 208.

⁴ Diurn. of Occurrents, p. 227.

⁵ Ibid. p. 239.

to have tint and foirfaltit thair lyvis, lands, and guidis, and ordaynit thair armes to be riffin, and thair names and armes to be eleidit out of the buikis thair of for euer." ¹ The outlawed burgess's house in the Fountain Close appears to have been immediately seized by his opponents as a forfeiture to the Queen, in whose name they acted, and to have been converted into a battery and stronghold for assailing the enemy, for which its lofty character, and vicinity to the city wall, peculiarly fitted it. A contemporary historian relates that "the Regent, Johne Erle of Mar, for beseageing of the toun of Edinburgh, cawsit nyne pece of ordonance, great and small, be broght to the Cannogait, to have assailzeit the east port of the toun; bot that place was not thocht commodious, wharefore the gunnis war transportit to a fauxburg of the toun, callit Pleasands; and thairfra they laid to thair batterie aganis the toun walls, whilk began the tent of September, and shot at a platfurme whilk was erectit upon a housheid, pertaining to Adame Fullartoun." ²

This desperate and bloody civil war was happily of brief duration. Adam Fullarton speedily returned to his house at the Nether Bow; and while the English forces under Sir William Durie were casting up trenches and planting cannon for the siege of Edinburgh Castle, in the name of the young King, he was again chosen a burgess of the Parliament which assembled in the Tolbooth on the 26th of April 1573.³ This date corresponds with that carved on the lintel of the old mansion in the Fountain Close. It may be doubted, however, whether it indicates more than its repair, as it is expressly mentioned by the contemporary already quoted, that "thaj did litill or na skaith to the said hous and platfurme." ⁴ We can hardly doubt that this ancient tenement will be viewed with increasing interest by our local antiquaries, associated as it is with so important a period of national history. The *vincit veritas* of the brave old burgher acquires a new force when we consider the circumstances that dictated its inscription, and the desperate struggle in which he had borne a leading part, before he returned to carve these pious aphorisms over the threshold that had so recently been held by his enemies. It only remains to be mentioned of the Fountain Close, that it formed, at a very recent period, the only direct access from the High Street to the Cowgate Chapel, while that was the largest and most fashionable Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh.

Immediately below this is the Marquis of Tweeddale's Close, whose large mansion still remains at the foot of it, though long since deserted by its noble occupants. It is mentioned by Defoe among the princely buildings of Edinburgh, "with a plantation of lime trees behind it, the place not allowing room for a large garden." ⁵ This, however, must have been afterwards remedied, as its pleasure grounds latterly extended down to the Cowgate. Successive generations of the Tweeddale family have occupied this house, which continued to be their town residence till the general desertion of the Scottish capital by the nobility soon after the Union. The old mansion still retains many traces of former magnificence, notwithstanding the rude changes to which it has been since subjected. Its builder and first occupant was Lady Yester, the pious founder of the church in Edinburgh that bears her name.⁶ By her it was presented to her grandson, John, second Earl of

¹ Diurn. of Occurrents, p. 244.

² Hist. of James the Sext, Bann. Club, p. 94.

³ Diurn. of Occ. p. 331.

⁴ Hist. of James the Sext, p. 251.

⁵ Defoe's Tour, vol. iv. p. 86.

⁶ Dame Margaret Ker, Lady Yester, third daughter of Mark, first Earl of Lothian, was born in 1572, the year of John Knox's death, so that Tweeddale House is a building of the early part of the seventeenth century. Among the

Tweeddale, a somewhat versatile politician, who joined the standard of Charles I. at Nottingham, in 1642, during the lifetime of his father. He afterwards adopted the popular cause, and fought at the head of a Scottish troop at the battle of Marston Moor. He assisted at the coronation of Charles II. at Scone, and sat thereafter in Cromwell's Parliament as member for the county of Haddington. He was sworn a privy councillor to the King on his restoration, and continued in the same by James VII. He lived to take an active share in the Revolution, and to fill the office of High Chancellor of Scotland under William III.; by whom he was created Marquis of Tweeddale, and afterwards appointed High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament in 1695, while the grand project of the Darien expedition was pending. He died at Edinburgh before that scheme was carried out, and is perhaps as good a specimen as could be selected of the *weather-cock politician* of uncertain times. The last noble occupant of the old mansion at the Nether Bow was, we believe, the fourth Marquis, who held the office of Secretary of State for Scotland from 1742 until its abolition. The fine old gardens, which descended by a succession of ornamental terraces to the Cowgate, were destroyed to make way for the Cowgate Chapel, now also forsaken by its original founders. This locality possesses a mysterious interest to our older citizens, the narrow alley that leads into Tweeddale Court having been the scene, in 1806, of the murder of Begbie, a porter of the British Linen Company's Bank,—an occurrence which ranks, among the gossips of the Scottish capital, with the Ikon Basilike, or the man in the Iron Mask. Tweeddale House was at that time occupied by the British Linen Banking Company, and as Begbie was entering the close in the dusk of the evening, having in his possession £4392, which he was bringing from the Leith Branch, he was stabbed directly to the heart with the blow of a knife, and the whole money carried off, without any clue being found to the perpetrator of the deed. A reward of five hundred guineas was offered for his discovery, but although some of the notes were found concealed in the grounds of Bellevue, in the neighbourhood of the town, no trace of the murderer could be obtained. There is little doubt, however, that the assassin was James Mackoull, a native of London, and "a thief by profession," who had the hardihood to return to Edinburgh the following year, and take up his residence in Rose Street under the name of Captain Moffat. He was afterwards implicated in the robbery of the Paisley Union Bank, when £20,000 were successfully carried off, and though, after years of delay, he was at length convicted and condemned to be executed, the hardy villain obtained a reprieve, and died in Edinburgh jail fourteen years after the perpetration of the undiscovered murder. The exact spot on which this mysterious deed was effected is pointed out to the curious. The murderer must have stood within the entry to a stair on the right side of the close, at the step of which Begbie bled to death undiscovered, though within a few feet of the most crowded thoroughfare in the town. The lovers of the marvellous may still be found occasionally recurring to this riddle, and not-

list of Lady Yeaster's "Mortifications," (MS. Advoc. Lib.) is the following:—"At Edinburgh built and repaired ane great lodging, in the south side of the High Street, near the Nether Bow, and mortified out of the same ane yearly ane : rent 200 m. for the poor in the hospital beside the College kirk y^r; and yrafter having resolved to bestow ye s^d lodging, with the whole furniture yrin to Jo : now E. of Tweeddale, her oy, by consent of the Town-Council, ministers, and kirk sessions, she redeemed the s^d lodging, and freed it, by payment of 2000 merks, and left the s^d lodging only burdened with 40 m. yearly."



THE NETHERBOW PORT
FROM THE EAST. TAKEN DOWN 1784.

Published by Hugh Paton Adam Square Edinburgh.

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ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

withstanding the elucidation of it referred to above, the question remains with most of them as interesting and mysterious as at first, "Who murdered Begbie?"

This eastern nook of the old town has other associations with men eminent for talents and noted for their deeds, though tradition has neglected to assign the exact tenements wherein they dwelt of yore, while mingling with the living crowd. Here was the abode of Robert Lekprevik, another of our early Scottish printers, to whom it is probable that Bassendyne succeeded, on his removal to St Andrew's in 1570. Here, too, appears to have been the lodging of Archbishop Sharp. Nicoll tells us, that the newly consecrated bishops, on the 8th of May, 1662, "being all convenit in the Bishop of St Androis hous, neir to the Neddir Bow, come up all in their gownis, and come to the Parliament, quha wer resavit with much honour, being convoyit fra the Archebischop of Sant Androis hous with 2 erles, viz. the Erle of Kellie, and the Erle of Weymis." Of scarce less interest is the history of a humble barber and wig maker, who carried on business at the Nether Bow, where his gifted son, William Falconer, the author of "The Shipwreck," is believed to have been born about 1730. Here, at least, was his home and play-ground during his early years, while he shared in the sports and frolics of the rising generation; all but himself long since at rest in forgotten graves.

World's End Close is the appropriate title of the last alley before we reach the site of the Nether Bow Port, that terminated of old the boundaries of the walled capital, and separated it from its courtly rival, the Burgh of Canongate. It is called, in the earliest title-deed we have seen connected with it, Sir James Stanfield's Close; ¹ and though the greater part of it has been recently rebuilt, it still retains a few interesting traces of former times. Over the doorway of a modern land, a finely carved piece of open tracery is built into the wall, apparently the top of a very rich Gothic niche, similar to those in Blyth's Close and elsewhere; and on the lintel of an old land at the foot of the Close, there is a shield of arms, now partly defaced, and this variation of the common motto:—*PRAISZE . THE . LORD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS . M . S .* With which pious ascription we bid adieu for a time to old Edinburgh, properly so called, and pass into the ancient Royal Burgh of Canongate.

¹ This, we presume, was Sir James Stanfield of Newmills, or Amesfield, whose death took place in 1688, under circumstances of peculiar mystery. He was found drowned, and suspicion being excited by a hasty funeral, and the fact, as was alleged, that his wife had the grave clothes all ready for him before his death, the privy council appointed two surgeons to examine the body, who reported that the corpse bled on being touched by his eldest son, Philip. His servants were apprehended and put to the torture, without eliciting any further proof, and yet, on very vague circumstantial evidence, added to the miraculous testimony of the murdered man, the son,—a notorious profligate,—was condemned to death, and hanged at the cross of Edinburgh. His tongue was cut out for cursing his father, his right hand struck off for parricide, his head exposed on the east port of Haddington, as nearest the scene of the murder, and his body hung in chains on the Gallow Lee, between Edinburgh and Leith. He died denying his guilt, and Fountainhall adds, after recording sundry miraculous evidences against him; "This is a dark case of divination, to be remitted to the great day; only it is certain he was a bad youth, and may serve as a beacon to all profligate persons."

CHAPTER VII.

THE CANONGATE AND ABBEY SANCTUARY.



THE ancient Burgh of Canongate may claim as its founder the sainted David I., by whom the Abbey of Holyrood was planted in the Forest of Drumselch early in the twelfth century, as a shrine for the miraculous cross which the royal hunter so unexpectedly obtained within its sylvan glades. It sprung up wholly independent of the neighbouring capital, gathering as naturally around the consecrated walls of the monastery, whose dependents and vassals were its earliest builders, as did its warlike neighbour shelter itself under the overhanging battlements of the more ancient fortress. Something of a native born character seems to have possessed these rivals, and exhibited itself in very legible phases in their after history; each of them retaining distinctive marks of their very different parentage.¹

In the year 1450, when James II. granted to the lieges his charter, empowering them "to fosse, bulwark, wall, toure, turate, and otherwise to strengthen" his burgh of Edinburgh, because of their "dreid of the evil and skeith of our enemies of England," these ramparts extended no further eastward than the Nether Bow. Open fields, in all probability, then lay outside the gate, dividing from it the township of the neighbouring Abbey; and although at a later period a suburb would appear to have been built beyond the walls, so that the jurisdiction of the town was claimed within the Burgh of Canongate so far as St John's Cross, no attempt was made to secure

¹ The Magistrates of the Canongate still claim a feudal lordship over the property of the burgh, as the successors of its spiritual superiors, most of the title-deeds running thus:—"To be holden of the Magistrates of the Canongate, as come in place of the Monastery of Holycross."

VIGNETTE—Canongate Tolbooth.

or to protect it in any later extension of the fortifications of the capital. Towards this suburb, the Burgh of the Canons of Holyrood gradually progressed westward, until, as now, one unbroken line of houses extended from the Castle to the Abbey.

It seems strange that no attempt should have been made, either in the disastrous year 1513, when the Cowgate was enclosed, or at any subsequent period, to include the Canongate and the royal residence within the extended military defences. It only affords, however, additional evidence, that the marked difference in the origin of each maintained an influence even after the lapse of centuries.¹ The probability is, that greater confidence was reposed, both by clergy and laity, in the sanctity of the monks of Holyrood, than in the martial prowess of their vassals. Nor did such reliance prove misplaced, until, in the year 1544, the hosts of Henry VIII. ravaged the distracted and defenceless kingdom, under the guidance of the Earl of Hertford, to whom the Monk's cowl and the Abbot's mitre were even less sacred than the jester's suit of motley. There is little reason to think that a single fragment of building prior to that invasion exists in the Canongate, apart from the remains of the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood. The return of Queen Mary, however, to Scotland in 1561, and the permanent residence of the court at Holyrood, gave a new impetus to the capital and its suburban neighbour. The earliest date now to be found on any private building is that of 1565, which occurs on an ancient tenement at the head of Dunbar's Close; and is characterised by features of antiquity no less strongly marked than those on any of the most venerable fabrics in the burgh.

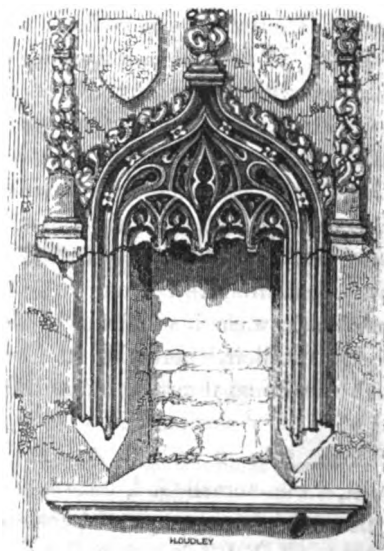
The rival Parliament which assembled here during the siege of the capital in 1571, under the Regent Lennox, "in William Oikis hous in the Cannongat, within the freidom of Edinburgh, albeit the samyne wes nocht within the portis thairof," has already been referred to.² But an ingenious stratagem which was tried by the besiegers shortly afterwards, for the purpose of surprising the town, forms one of the most interesting incidents connected with this locality. This "slicht of weir" is thus narrated by the contemporary diarist already quoted:—Upon the 22d day of August 1571, my Lord Regent and the nobles professing the King's authority, seeing they could not obtain entry into the burgh of Edinburgh, caused several bands of soldiers to proceed from Leith during the night, and conceal themselves in the closes and adjoining houses immediately without the Nether Bow Port, while a considerable reserve force was collected at the Abbey, ready on a concerted signal from their trumpets to hasten to their aid. On the following morning, about five o'clock, when it was believed the night watch would be withdrawn, six soldiers, disguised as millers, approached the Port, leading a file of horses laden with sacks of meal, which were to be thrown down as they entered, so as to impede the closing of the gates; and while they assailed the warders with weapons they wore concealed under their disguise, the men in ambush were ready to rush out and storm the town. But, says the diarist, "the eternal God, knowing the cruell murder that wald haue bene done and committit vpoun innocent pover personis of the said burgh, wald not thole this interpryse to tak successe, bot evin quhen the said meill wes almaist at the port, and the said men of

¹ The Canongate appears to have been so far enclosed as to answer ordinary municipal purposes. It had its gates, which were shut at night, as is shown further on, but the walls do not seem to have partaken in any degree of the character of military defences, and were never attempted to be held out against an enemy.

² Diurn. of Occurrents, p. 214, vide ante, vol. i. p. 82.

weare standand in clois heids in readines to haue enterit at the bak of the samyne, movit Thomas Barrie to pass furth of the port, down to the Cannogait, to have sene his awne hous, quhair in his said passage he persavit the saidis ambushmentis of men of weare, and with celeritie returnit and warnit the watchemen and keiparis of the said port; quhilk causit thame to steik the samin quicklie, and sua this devyse and interpryse tuke na prosperous effect." ¹ The citizens took warning from this, and built another gate within the outer port to secure them against any such surprise. There is something amusingly simple both in the ambuscade of the besiegers, and its discovery by the honest burgher while taking his quiet morning's stroll beyond the walls. But the whole incidents of this siege display an almost total ignorance of the science of war, or of the use of the engines they had at command. The besiegers gallop up Leith Wynd and down St Mary's Wynd, on their way to Dalkeith, seemingly unmolested by the burgher watch, who overlooked them from the walls; or they valorously drag their artillery up the Canongate, and after venturing a few shots at the Nether Bow they drag them back, regarding it as a feat of no little merit to get them safely home again.

Many houses still remain scattered about the main street and the lanes of the Canongate, which withstood these vicissitudes of the Douglas wars; and one which has been described to us by its present owner as of old styled *the Parliament House*, may possibly be that of William Oikis, wherein the Regent Lennox, with the Earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Crawford, Menteith, and Buchan; the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay and others assembled, and after pronouncing the doom of forefaulture against William Maitland, younger of Lethington, and the chief of their opponents, adjourned the Parliament to meet again at Stirling. This house, which is situated on the west side of the Old Flesh Market Close, presents externally as mean and uninviting an appearance as may well be conceived. An inspection of its interior, however, furnishes unquestionable evidence both of its former magnificence and its early date. The house is now in the most wretched state of dilapidation and decay, and is one of the very last buildings in Edinburgh that a superficial observer would single out for any assemblage except a parliament of jolly beggars; but on penetrating to an inner lobby of its gloomy interior, a large and curiously carved niche is discovered, of the same character as those described in the Guise Palace. The workmanship of it, as will be seen in the accompanying view, though in a style apparently somewhat later, is much more elaborate than any of those previously noticed, except the largest one on the east side of Blyth's Close. Directly opposite to this, but separated from it by modern partitions, a large



¹ Diurn. of Occurrents, pp. 239, 240.

Gothic fireplace remains, decorated with rich mouldings and clustered pillars at the sides. On the occasion referred to, the burgesses and the garrison of the Castle used their utmost efforts to compel the Regent's advisers to adjourn. Cannon were planted in the Blackfriars' Yards, as well as on the walls, to batter this novel Parliament House; and the Castle guns were plied with such effect as "did greit skaith in the heid of the Cannogait to the houssis thair of." In all probability this dilapidated relic of ancient wealth and magnificence survives nearly in the same dismantled state in which its ruins were hastily repaired on the return of peace.¹

The adjoining closes to the eastward abounded, a few years since, with ancient timber-fronted tenements of a singularly picturesque character; but the value of property became for a time so much depreciated in this neighbourhood that the whole were abandoned by their owners to ruinous decay. When making a drawing of a group of them a few years since, which presented peculiarly attractive features for the pencil, we were amused to observe more than one weather-worn intimation of *Lodgings to Let*, enlivening the fronts of tenements, which probably not even the most needy or fearless mendicant would have ventured to occupy, though their hospitable doors stood wide to second the liberal invitation. When we next visited them, the whole mass had tumbled to ruin, leaving only here and there a sculptured doorway and a defaced inscription to indicate their importance in other times, several of which still remain both in Coul's and the Old High School Closes. To the east of the latter there stood, till within the last three years, a fine old stone land, with its main front in Mid Common Close, adorned with dormer windows, stringcourses, and other architectural decorations of an early period. Over one of the windows on the first floor, the following devout confession of faith was cut in large Roman characters:—
I . TAKE . THE . LORD . JESVS . AS . MY . ONLY . ALL . SVFFICIENT . PORTION . TO . CONTENT . ME . 1614. This tenement, however, has shared the fate of its less substantial neighbours, having been pulled down to make way for a manufactory that now occupies its site.

The Old High School Close derives its name from a large and handsome mansion which stands in an open court at the foot, and was occupied for many years as the High School of the Burgh. The building is ornamented with dormer windows, and a neat pediment in the centre, bearing a sun dial, with the date 1704. The school dates from a much remoter era, however, than this would imply; it appears to have been founded in connection with the Abbey, long before a similar institution existed in the capital. It is referred to in a charter granted by James V. in 1529; and Henryson, once the pupil of Vocat, clerk and orator of the Convent of Holyrood, is named as having successfully taught the Grammar School of the Burgh of Canongate. Repeated notices of it occur in

¹ Contemporary allusions to this Parliament render it more likely that its place of meeting was on the south side of the street, as it was battered from the Blackfriars' Yards. Moreover, it seems probable that the whole of the north side was an undisputed part of the Burgh of Canongate, as it now is of the parish; while on the south its parochial bounds extend no further westward than St John's Cross. In the Act of Parliament of 1540, (ante, vol. i. p. 44,) the Abbot of Holyrood is referred to as the acknowledged superior of the east side of Leith Wynd. The old house is, at any rate, one which existed at the period, and was then a mansion of no mean note. The present occupants tell the usual story of Queen Mary having resided there, and profess to point out her chapel, with the confessional—a place certainly constructed with some suitableness for such a purpose—the site of the altar, the priest's robing room, &c., and all in a crazy attic which seems to have been long deserted, as past hope of repair.

the Burgh Records, *e. g.* :—“5 April 1580.—The quhilk day compeirit Gilbert Tailyour, skuilmaister, and renuncit and dimittit his gift grauntit to him be Adame Bischope of Orkney, of the rycht of the Grammar Schole during his lyfytyme, in favouris of the baillies and counsall,” who accordingly restored it to him, “to be haldin of thame, as thai quha hes undoutitt rycht to dispone the samyne.”¹ At the head of Rae’s Close, a little farther to the eastward, another long and interesting inscription of the same period, though earlier in its style, is inscribed over the entrance to the close. It consists of the following prayer :—

MISERERE MEI DOMINE ; A PECATO, PROBRO, DEBITO,
ET MORTE SUBITA, ME LIBERA. 1 · 6 · 1 · 8 ·

This, which is one of the most beautiful inscriptions of the Old Town, has been recently partially concealed by a modern shop front ; but the whole is given, with a slight variation, in the *Theatrum Mortalium*.² Immediately adjoining this, another stone tenement of similar character presents its antique gabled façade to the street, adorned with a curious figure of a turbaned Moor occupying a pulpit, projecting from a recess over the second floor. Various romantic stories are told of the Morocco Land, as this ancient tenement is styled. The following is as complete an outline of the most consistent of them, as we have been able to gather, though it is scarcely necessary to premise, that it rests on very different authority from some of the historical associations previously noticed.

During one of the tumultuous outbreaks for which the mob of Edinburgh has rendered itself noted at all periods, and which occurred soon after the accession of Charles I. to his father’s throne, the provost,—who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the rioters,—was assaulted, his house broken into and fired, and mob law completely established in the town. On the restoration of order several of the rioters were seized, and, among others, Andrew Gray, a younger son of the Master of Gray, whose descendants now inherit the ancient honours and title of that family. He was convicted as the ring-leader of the mob, and, notwithstanding the exertions of powerful friends, such was the influence of the provost,—who was naturally exasperated by the proceedings of the rioters,—that young Gray was condemned to be executed within a day or two after his trial. The last day of his doomed life had drawn to a close, and the scaffold was already preparing at the Cross for his ignominious death ; but the old Tolbooth showed, as usual, its proper sense of the privileges of gentle blood. That very night he effected his escape by means of a rope and file conveyed to him by a faithful vassal, who had previously drugged a posset for the sentinel at *the Purses*, and effectually put a stop to his interference. A boat lay at the foot of one of the neighbouring closes, by which he was ferried over the North

¹ Register of the Burgh of the Canongate ; Maitland Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 345.

² Monteith’s *Theatrum Mortalium*, p. 248 ; where the last two words are incorrectly transposed. Rae’s Close, appears, from repeated references to it in the Register of the Burgh, to have been the only open thoroughfare at that period between Leith Wynd and the Water Gate. *e. g.* Orders are given, 6th December 1568, “to caus big vpe the fuit of Ra Cloce.” Again, 18th October 1574, “The Baillies and Counsall ordains thair Thesaurer to big and upput ane yett upon Rais Cloce, and mak the samyn lokfast,” a charge for which afterwards appears in the Treasurer’s accounts. Mait. Misc. vol. ii. pp. 316, 330, 336. Even in 1647, when Gordon’s bird’s-eye view was drawn, only one other thoroughfare appears, and nearly the whole ground lying behind the row of houses in the main street consists of open gardens, with a wall running along the North Back of the Canongate.

Loch ; and long before the town gates were opened on the following morning, a lessening sail near the mouth of the Firth told to the watchful eye of his vassal that Andrew Gray was safe beyond pursuit.

Years passed over, and the sack of the obnoxious provost's house, as well as the escape of the ringleader, had faded from the minds of all save some of his own immediate relatives. Gloom and terror now pervaded the streets of the capital. It was the terrible year 1645,—the last visitation of the pestilence to Edinburgh,—when, as tradition tells us, grass grew thickly about the Cross, once as crowded a centre of thoroughfare as Europe had to boast of. Maitland relates that, such was the terror that prevailed at this period, debtors incarcerated in the tolbooth were set at large ; all who were not freemen were compelled, under heavy penalties, to leave the town ; until at length, “ by the unparalleled ravages committed by the plague, it was spoiled of its inhabitants to such a degree that there were scarce sixty men left capable of assisting in defence of the town, in case of an attack.”¹ The common council ordered the town walls to be repaired, and a party of the train bands to guard them, an immediate attack being dreaded from the victorious army of Montrose. They strove to provide against the more insidious assaults of their dreadful enemy within, by agreeing with Joannes Paulitius, M.D., to visit the infected, on a salary of eighty pounds Scots per month.² In the midst of all these preparations, a large armed vessel, of curious form and rigging, was seen to sail up the Firth, and cast anchor in Leith Roads. The vessel was pronounced by experienced seamen to be an Algerine rover, and all was consternation and dismay, both in the seaport and the neighbouring capital. A detachment of the crew landed, and proceeded immediately towards Edinburgh, which they approached by the Water Gate, and passing up the High Street of the Canongate demanded admission at the Nether Bow Port. The Magistrates entered into parley with their leader, and offered to ransom the city on exorbitant terms, warning them, at the same time, of the dreadful scourge to which they would expose themselves if they entered the plague-stricken city,—but all in vain.

Sir John Smith, the provost at the time, withdrew to consult with the most influential citizens in this dilemma, who volunteered large contributions towards the ransom of the town. He returned to the Nether Bow, accompanied by a body of them, among whom was his own brother-in-law, Sir William Gray, one of the wealthiest citizens of the period. Negotiations were resumed, and seemingly with more effect. A large ransom was agreed to be received, on condition that the son of the provost should be delivered up to the leader of the pirates. It seems, however, that the provost's only child was a daughter, who then lay stricken of the plague, of which her cousin, Egidia Gray, had recently died. This information seemed to work an immediate change on the leader of the Moors. After some conference with his men, he intimated his possession of an elixir of wondrous potency, and demanded that the provost's daughter should be entrusted to his skill ; engaging, if he did not cure her, immediately to embark with his men, and free the city without ransom. After considerable parley, the provost proposed that the leader should enter the city, and take up his abode in his house ; but this he peremptorily refused, rejecting at the same time all offers of still higher ransom, which the distracted father was now prepared to make.

¹ Maitland, p. 85.

² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Sir John Smith at length yielded to the exhortations of his friends, who urged him in so dreadful an alternative to accept the offer of the Moor. The fair invalid was borne on a litter to the house near the head of the Canongate where he had taken up his abode, and, to the astonishment and delight of her father, she was restored to him shortly afterwards safe and well.

The denouement of this singular story bears that the Moorish leader and physician proved to be Andrew Gray, who, after being captured by pirates, and sold as a slave,¹ had won the favour of the Emperor of Morocco, and risen to rank and wealth in his service. He had returned to Scotland, bent on revenging his own early wrongs on the Magistrates of Edinburgh, when, to his surprise, he found in the destined object of his special vengeance, a relative of his own. The remainder of the tale is soon told. He married the provost's daughter, and settled down a wealthy citizen of the Burgh of Canongate. The house to which his fair patient was borne, and whither he afterwards brought her as his bride, is still adorned with an effigy of his royal patron, the Emperor of Morocco; and the tenement has ever since borne the name of Morocco Land. It is added that he had vowed never to enter the city but sword in hand; and having abandoned all thoughts of revenge, he kept the vow till his death, having never again passed the threshold of the Nether Bow Port. We only add, that we do not pretend to guarantee this romantic legend of the burgh; all we have done, has been to put into a consistent whole the different versions related to us. We have had the curiosity to obtain a sight of the title-deeds of the property, which prove to be of recent date. The earliest, a disposition of 1731, so far confirms the tale, that the proprietor at that date is John Gray, merchant, a descendant, it may be, of the Algerine rover and the provost's daughter. The figure of the Moor has ever been a subject of popular admiration and wonder, and a variety of legends are told to account for its existence. Most of them, however, though differing in almost every other point, seem to agree in connecting it with the last visitation of the plague.

A little to the eastward of Morocco Land, two ancient buildings of less dimensions in every way than the more recent erections beside them, and the eastern one, more especially, of a singularly antique character, form striking features among the architectural elevations in the street. The latter, indeed, is one of the most noticeable relics of the olden time still remaining among the private dwellings of the burgh. It is described in the titles as that tenement of land called Oliver's Land, partly stone, and partly timber; and is one of the very best specimens of this mixed style of building that now remains. The gables are finished with the earliest form of crowstep, considerably ornamented. A curiously moulded dormer window, of an unusual form, rises into the roof; while, attached to the floor below,

¹ Numerous references will be found in the the records of the 17th century to similar slavery among the Moors. In "Selections from the Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark," Abbotsford Club, 1839, is the following:—"27th Oct. 1625.—The quill day ane letter resavit from the Bishope for ane contributioun to be collectit for the releaff of some folks of Queinsfarie and Kingorne, deteinet under slaverie by the Turkes at Salie." Again, in the "Minutes of the Synod of Fyfe," printed for the same Club:—"2d April, 1616, Anent the supplication proponed be Mr Williame Wedderburne, minister at Dundee, making mentione, that whairas the Lordis of his Hienes' Privie Counsell being certanelie informed that Androw Robertson, Johnne Cowie, Johnne Dauling, James Pratt, and their complices, marineris, indwellaris in Leyth, being laitlie upon the coast of Barbarie, efter ane cruell and bloodie conflict, were overcome and led into captivitie be certane merciles Turkes, who presented them to open mercatt at Argiers in Barbarie, to be sawld as slaves to the cruell barbarians," &c.

an antique timber projection is thrown out as a covered gallery, within which there is a very large fireplace on the external front of the stone wall, proving, as previously pointed out, that the timber work is part of the original plan of the building. The first floor is approached as usual by an outer stair, at the top of which a very beautifully moulded doorway affords entrance to a stone turnpike, forming the internal communication to the different floors. A rich double cornice encircles this externally, and beneath it is the inscription in antique ornamental characters:—*SOLI · DEO · HONOR · ET · GLORIA*. Owing to the protection afforded by the deep mouldings and the timber additions, this inscription has been safely preserved from injury, and remains nearly as sharp and fresh as when cut. The character of the letters corresponds with other inscriptions dating early in the sixteenth century, and the whole building is a very perfect specimen of the best class of mansions at that period. The interior, though described in the titles as having “a fore chamber and gallery, a chamber of dais,” &c., has in reality accommodations only of the very homeliest description, each floor consisting of a simple and moderately sized single apartment, subdivided by such temporary wooden partitions as the convenience of later tenants has suggested. It appears to have been the mansion of John, the second son of Lawrence, fourth Lord Oliphant, an active adherent of Queen Mary. His elder brother, who is styled Master of Oliphant, joined the Ruthven conspirators in 1582, and perished shortly afterwards with the vessel and whole crew, when fleeing from the kingdom. The other tenement, apparently of equal antiquity, and similar in style of construction, though with fewer noticeable features, adjoins it on the west. It formed, at a somewhat later date, the residence of Lord David Hay of Belton, to whom that barony was secured in succession by a charter granted to his father, John, second Earl of Tweeddale, in 1687. The locality, indeed, appears from the ancient deeds to have been one of honourable resort down to a comparatively recent period, as knights and men of good family occur among the occupants during the eighteenth century. The boundaries of the house are defined on the north “by the stone tenement of land some time belonging to the Earl of Angus.” Only a portion of the walls of this noble dwelling now remains, which probably was the town residence of David, the eighth Earl, and brother of the Regent Morton. At the latest, it must have formed the mansion of his son Archibald, ninth Earl of Angus, the last of the Douglasses who bore that title. As nephew and ward of the Regent Morton, he was involved in his fall. After his death he fled to England, where he was honourably entertained by Queen Elizabeth, and became the friend and confidant of Sir Philip Sidney while writing his *Arcadia*.¹ He afterwards returned to Scotland, and bore his full share in the troubles of the time. He died in 1588, the victim, as was believed, of witchcraft. Godscroft tells that Barbara Napier in Edinburgh was tried and found guilty, though she escaped execution; and “Anna Simson, a famous witch, is reported to have confessed at her death that a picture of wax was brought to her, having A. D. written on it, which, as they said to her, did signify Archibald Davidson; and she, not thinking of the Earl of Angus, whose name was Archibald Douglas, and might have been called Davidson, because his father’s name was David, did consecrate, or execrate it after her form, which, she said, if she had known to have represented him, she would not have done it for

¹ Hume of Godscroft’s *History of the Douglasses*, p. 362.

all the world.”¹ It was the fate of this old mansion of the Earls of Angus, to be linked at its close in the misfortunes of a Douglas. It formed during last century the banking-house of Douglas, Heron, and Company, whose failure spread dismay and suffering through a widely scattered circle, involving both high and low in its ruin. The Chapel of Ease in New Street, erected in 1794, now partly occupies its site. Several other interesting relics of the olden time were destroyed to make way for this ungainly ecclesiastical edifice. One of these appears from the titles to have been the residence of Henry Kinloch, a wealthy burgher of the Canongate, to whose hospitable care the French ambassador was consigned by Queen Mary in 1565. An old diarist of the period relates, that “Vpoun Monunday the ferd day of Februar, the zeir of God foirsaid, thair come ane ambassatour out of the realm of France, callit Monsieur Rambollat, with xxxvj horse in tryne, gentilmen, throw England, to Halyrudhous, quhair the King and Queenis Majesties wes for the tyme, accompanyit with thair nobillis. And incontinent efter his lychting the said ambassatour gat presens of thair graces, and thairefter depairtit to Henrie Kynloches lugeing in the Cannogait besyid Edinburgh.” A few days afterwards, “The Kingis Majestie, [Lord Darnley,] accompanyit with his nobillis in Halyrudhous, ressavit the ordour of knyghtheid of the cokill fra the said Rambollat, with great magnificence. And the samin nycht at evin, our soueranis maid ane banket to the ambassatour foirsaid, in the auld chappell of Halyrudhous, quhilk wes reapparrellit with fyne tapestrie, and hung magnificentlie, the said lordis maid the maskery efter supper in ane honorable manner. And vpoun the ellevint day of the said moneth, the King and Quene in lyik manner bankettit the samin ambassatour; and at evin our soueranis maid the maskrie and mumschance, in the quhilk *the Queenis grace, and all her maries and ladies wer all cled in men’s apperrell*; and everie ane of thame presentit ane quhingar, bravelie and maist artificiallie made and embroiderit with gold, to the said ambassatour and his gentlemen.”² On the following day the King and Queen were entertained, along with the ambassador and his suite, at a splendid banquet provided for them in the Castle by the Earl of Mar; and on the second day thereafter, Monsieur Rambollat bade adieu to the Court of Holyrood. It is to be regretted that an accurate description cannot now be obtained of the burgher mansion which was deemed a fitting residence for one whom the Queen delighted to honour, and for whose entertainment such unwonted masquerades were enacted. It was probably quite as homely a dwelling as those of the same period that still remain in the neighbourhood. The sole memorial of it that now remains, is the name of the alley running between the two ancient front lands previously described, through which the ambassador and his noble visitors must have passed, and which is still called Kinloch’s Close after their burgher host.

New Street, which is itself a comparatively recent feature of the old burgh, is a curious sample of a fashionable *modern* improvement, prior to the bold scheme of the New Town. It still presents the aristocratic feature of a series of detached and somewhat elegant mansions. Its last-century occupants were Lord Kames,—whose house is at the head of the street on the east side,—Lord Hailes, Sir Philip and Lady Betty Anstruther, and Dr

¹ Hume of Godscroft’s History of the Douglasses, p. 432.

² Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 86, 87. There appears, indeed, (Maitland, p. 149.) to have been another Kinloch’s lodging near the palace, but the correspondence of name and date seems to prove the above to be the one referred to.

Young, a celebrated physician of the period, with others of wealth and influence, among whom may be mentioned Miss Jean Ramsay, a daughter of the poet, who lived there till a very advanced age, in the second house below the chapel.

A lofty stone tenement on the south side of the main street, to the east of Gillon's Close, was erected by Charles, fourth Earl of Traquair, and formed the residence of his twin daughters, Lady Barbara and Lady Margaret Stewart. They both died there at a very advanced age,—Lady Margaret in 1791, and her sister in 1794. They must have been born very early in the eighteenth century, as Dr Archibald Pitcairn, who died in 1713, made them the subject of some elegant Latin verses. They are still remembered as two kindly, but very precise old ladies, the amusement and main business of whose lives consisted in dressing and nursing a family of little dolls,—a recreation by no means unusual among the venerable spinsters of former days. The date over the main doorway of the building is 1700. A little farther to the eastward, and almost directly opposite the head of New Street, is the Playhouse Close, within the narrow alley of which the stage was established in 1747, on such a footing as was then deemed not only satisfactory, but highly creditable to the northern capital, where the drama had skulked about from place to place ever since its denouncement by the early reformers, finding even the patronage of royalty, and the favour of the vice-regal court of Holyrood, hardly sufficient to protect it from ignominious expulsion.

The history of the Scottish drama is one of very fitful and stinted encouragement, and of correspondingly meagre results. The first approach to regular dramatic composition, after the period when religious mysteries and moralities were enacted under the sanction of the Church,¹ was Sir David Lindsay's "Plesant Satyre of the Three Estaitis;" and this so effectually aided the work of the Reformers, under whose care the stage was immediately placed, that it may be styled the first and last effort of dramatic genius in Scotland, almost to our own day. It was "playit besyde Edinburgh in 1544, in presence of the Quene Regent," as is mentioned by Henry Charteris, the bookseller, who sat patiently for nine hours on the bank at Greenside to witness the play. It so far surpasses any effort of contemporary English dramatists, that it renders the barrenness of the Scottish muse in this department afterwards the more apparent. Birrell notes on the 17th January 1568:—"A play made by Robert Semple, and played before the Regent [Murray] and divers uthers of the nobilitie." This has been affirmed, though seemingly on very imperfect evidence, to have been *Philotus*, a comedy printed at Edinburgh by Robert Charteris in 1603; the author of which is not named. It exhibits, both in plan and execution, a much nearer approach to the modern drama than Sir David Lindsay's Satire, and is altogether

¹ A few extracts from the Treasurers' accounts will afford a hint of the dawn of theatrical amusements at the Scottish court in the reign of James IV. January 1, 1503:—"Item ye samyn nycht to ye gysaris that playit to ye King, 4l. 4s. Feb. 8.—To ye mene that brocht in ye Morice Dance, and to ye menstralis in Strevelin, 42s. Feb. 18.—To ye QUEENE OF YE CANONGAIT, 14s." This character repeatedly occurs in the accounts, and seems to have been a favourite masker. "1504, Jan. 1.—To Hog the tale-tellar, 14s. Jan. 3.—Yat samyn day to Thos. Bosuoll and Pate Sinclair to by yaim daunsing gere, 28s. Yat day to Maister Johne to by beltis for ye Morise Danse, 28s. Yat samyne nycht to ye GYBARRIS OF YE TOUNE OF EDINBURGH, 8fr. cr. [French crowns.] June 10.—Payit to James Dog that he laid doun for girse one Corpus Christi day, at the play to the Kingis and Quenis chamberis, 3s. 4d." &c.

a work of great merit. In the same year there issued from the Edinburgh press, *Darius*, a tragedy, written by "that most excellent spirit and earliest gem of our north,"¹ Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling. His tragedies, however, are dramatic only in title, and not at all adapted for the stage. James VI. endeavoured to mediate between the clergy and the encouragers of the drama, and, by his royal authority, stayed for a time their censure of theatrical representations. In the year 1592, a company of English players was licensed by the King to perform in Edinburgh, against which an act of the *kirk-sessions* was forthwith published, prohibiting the people to resort to such profane amusements.² The King appears to have heartily espoused the cause of the players a few years later, as various entries in the treasury accounts attest, *e. g.*:—"Oct. 1599.—Item, Delyuerit to his hienes self to be gevin to ye Inglis commedianis xiiij crownes of ye sone, at iijli. ijs. viijd. ye pece. Nov.—Item, Be his Maties directioun gevin to Sr George Elphingstoun, to be delyuerit to ye Inglis comedians, to by timber for ye preparatioun of ane hous to thair pastyme, as the said Sr George ticket beiris, xl. li.;" and again a sum is paid to a royal messenger for notifying at the Cross, with sound of trumpet, "his Maties plesour to all his lieges, that ye saidis commedianis mycht vse thair playis in Edr," &c. In the year 1601, an English company of players visited Scotland, and appeared publicly at Aberdeen, headed by "Laurence Fletcher, comediane to his Majestic." The freedom of that burgh was conferred on him at the same time that it was bestowed on sundry French knights and other distinguished strangers, in whose train the players had arrived. Mr Charles Knight, in his ingenious life of Shakspeare, shows that this is the same player whose name occurs along with that of the great English dramatist, in the patent granted by James VI., immediately after his arrival in the southern capital in 1603, in favour of the company at the Globe; and from thence he draws the conclusion, that Shakspeare himself visited Scotland at this period, and sketched out the plan of his great Scottish tragedy amid the scenes of its historic events. By the same course of inference, Shakspeare's name is associated with the ancient Tennis Court at the Water Gate, as it cannot be doubted that his Majesty's players made their appearance at the capital, and before the Court of Holyrood, either in going to or returning from the northern burgh, whither they had proceeded by the King's special orders; but it must be confessed the argument is a very slender one, to form the sole basis for such a conclusion.

The civil wars in the reign of Charles I., and the striking changes that they led to, obliterated all traces of theatrical representations, until their re-appearance soon after the restoration. One curious exhibition, however, is mentioned in the interval, which may be considered as a substitute for these forbidden displays. "At this tyme," says Nicoll, in 1659, "thair wes brocht to this natioun ane heigh great beast, callit ane Drummodrary, quhilk being keipit clos in the Cannogate, nane haid a sight of it without thrie pence the persone, quhilk producit much gayne to the keipar, in respect of the great numberis of pepill that resoirtit to it, for the sight thairof. It wes very big, and of great height, and

¹ Drummond of Hawthornden's Letters, Archæol. Scot. vol. iv. p. 83.

² "Nov. 1599.—Item, to Wm. Forsy^t, messenger, passand with lettres to the mercat croce of Edⁿ, chairing ye eldenis and deacouns of the haill four sessionis of Edⁿ, to annull thair act maid for ye discharge of certane Inglis com-medianis, x. s., viiij. d."—Treasurers' accounts.

clovin futed lyke unto a kow, and on the bak ane saitt, as it were a sadill, to sit on. Thair wes brocht in with it ane liytill baboun, faced lyke unto a naip."¹

During the government of the Earl of Rothes as high commissioner for Scotland, a play called "Marciano, or the Discovery," by Sir Thomas Sydserff, was acted on the festival of St John, before his grace and his court at Holyrood,² and at the court of the Duke of York, at a somewhat later period, a regular company of actors were maintained, and the Tennis court fitted up for their performances, in defiance of the scandal created by such innovations.³ Lord Fountainhall notes among his "Historical observes,"⁴—"15th Novembris, 1681, being the Quean of Brittain's birth-day, it was kept by our Court at Halirudhouse with great solemnitie, such as bonfyres, shooting of canons, and the acting a comedy, called *Mithridates King of Pontus*, before ther Royall Hynesses, &c., wheirin Ladie Anne, the Duke's daughter, and the Ladies of Honor ware the onlie actors." Not only the canonists, both protestant and popish,—adds my Lord Fountainhall, in indignant comment,—“but the very heathen roman lawyers, declared all scenicks and stage players infamous, and will scarce admit them to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,”—a somewhat singular mark of disapprobation from heathen lawyers! The Revolution again banished the drama from Scotland, and we hear no more of it till the year 1714, when the play of Macbeth was performed at the Tennis Court, in presence of a number of the Scottish nobility and gentry assembled in Edinburgh for a grand Archery meeting. Party politics ran high at the time, some of the company present called for the favourite song, "*May the king enjoy his ain again*,"⁵ while others as stoutly opposed it, and the entertainments wound up in a regular melee, anticipatory of the rebellion which speedily followed.

Allan Ramsay's unfortunate theatrical speculation has already been referred to. But the scene of his successful patronage of the drama appears to have been first chosen by Signora Violante, an Italian dancer and tumbler, who afterwards took the legitimate drama under her protection and management. This Virago, as Arnot styles her,⁶ returned to Edinburgh, "where she fitted up that house in the foot of Carruber's Close, which has since been occupied as a meeting-house by successive tribes of sectaries." Driven from this quarter, as we have seen, the players betook themselves to the Taylor's Hall, in the Cowgate, and though mere strolling bands, they were persecuted into popularity by their opponents, until this large Hall proved insufficient for their accommodation. A rival establishment was accordingly set a-going, and in the year 1746, the foundation-stone of the first regular theatre in Edinburgh was laid within the Play-house Close, Canongate, by Mr John Ryan, then a London actor of considerable repute. Here the drama had mainly to contend with the commoner impediments incidental to the proverbial lack of prudence and thrift in the management of actors, until the year 1756, when, on the night of the 14th December, the tragedy of Douglas, the work of a clergyman of the kirk, was

¹ Nicoll's Diary, p. 226.

² Campbell's Journey, vol. ii. p. 163.

³ Vide, vol. i. p. 103.

⁴ Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 51. Tytler concludes his account of the Duke's theatrical entertainment with the following inference, which would have done credit to a history of the Irish stage:—"Private balls, and concerts of music, it would seem, were now the only species of public entertainments amongst us!"—Archæol. Scot. vol. i. p. 504.

⁵ Campbell's History of Poetry in Scotland, p. 353.

⁶ Arnot, p. 366.

first presented to an Edinburgh audience. The clergy anew returned to the assault with redoubled zeal, and although they were no longer able to chace the players from the stage, John Home, the author of the obnoxious tragedy, deemed it prudent to renounce the orders that had been tarnished by a composition so unwonted and unclerical.

The more recent history of the Edinburgh stage is characterised by no incidents of very special note, until the year 1768, when it followed the tide of fashionable emigration to the New Town, and the Theatre Royal was built in the Orphan's Park,¹ which had previously been the scene of Whitfield's labours during his itinerant visits to Edinburgh. The eloquent preacher is said to have expressed his indignation in no measured terms when he found the very spot which had been so often consecrated by his ministrations thus being set apart to the very service of the devil.

The front land in the Canongate through which the archway leads into the Play-house Close is an exceedingly fine specimen of the style of building prevalent in the reign of Charles I. The dormer windows in the roof exhibit a pleasing variety of ornament, and a row of storm windows above them gives a singular, and indeed foreign, air to the building, corresponding in style to the steep and picturesque roofs that abound in Strasbourg and Mayence. A latin inscription on an ornamental tablet, over the doorway within the close, is now so much defaced that only a word or two can be decyphered. The building where Ryan, Digges, Bellamy, Lancashire, and a host of nameless actors figured on the stage, to the admiring gaze of fashionable audiences of last century, has long since been displaced by private erections.

Nearly fronting the entrance to this close, a radiated arrangement of the paving indicates the site of St John's Cross, the ancient eastern boundary of the capital. It still marks the limit of its ecclesiastical bounds on the south side of the street, and here also now, as in ancient times, all extraordinary proclamations are announced by the Lion Heralds, with sound of trumpets, and the magistrates and public bodies of the burgh of Canongate join such processions as pass through their ancient jurisdiction in their progress to the Abbey. A little further eastward, is St John's Close, an ancient alley, bearing over an old doorway within it, the inscription in bold Roman characters:—*THE . LORD . IS . ONLY . MY . SVPORT*. Immediately adjoining this is St John Street, a broad and handsome thoroughfare, forming the boldest scheme of civic improvement effected in Edinburgh before the completion of the North Bridge, and the rival works on the south side of the town. This aristocratic quarter of last century was in progress in 1768, as appears from the date cut over a back doorway of the centre house; and soon afterwards the names of the old Scottish aristocracy that still resided in the capital,—Earls, Lords, Baronets, and Lords of Session,—are found among its chief occupants. Here, in No. 13, was the residence of Lord Monboddo, and the lovely Miss Burnet, whose early death is so touchingly commemorated by the Poet Burns, a frequent guest at St John Street during his residence

¹ So called from its vicinity to the Orphan's Hospital, a benevolent institution which obtained the high commendations of Howard, and the aid of Whitfield, during the repeated visits made by both to Edinburgh. A very characteristic portrait of the latter is now in the hall of the new hospital erected at the Dean. The venerable clock of the Netherbow Port has also been transferred from the steeple of the old building to an elegant site over the pediment of the new portico, where, notwithstanding such external symptoms of renewing its youth, it still asserts its claim to the privileges and immunities of age by frequent aberrations of a very eccentric character.

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in the capital; and within a few doors of it, at No. 10, resided James Ballantyne, the partner and confidant of Sir Walter Scott in the literary adventures of the *Great Unknown*. Here was the scene of those assemblies of select and favoured guests to whom the hospitable printer read snatches of the forthcoming novel, and whetted, while he seemed to gratify, their curiosity, by many a shrewd wink and mysterious hint of confidential insight into the literary riddle of the age. The scene, indeed, has melancholy associations with the great novelist. It is a place which he often visited as an honoured guest, while yet with sanguine mind and fertile imagination, he was anticipating the realization of dreams as wild as his most fanciful legends; but it is far more nearly allied to those mournful years, when the brave man looked on the sad realities of ruined hopes, and bent himself sternly to rebuild and to restore. The house at the head of the street, facing the Canongate, where James Earl of Hopetoun resided previously to 1788, is associated with another of the most eminent Scottish poets and novelists, the precursor of Scott in the popular field of romance. The first floor of this house was the residence of Mrs Telfer, of Scotstown, the sister of Smollett, during his second visit to his native country in 1766; and here he resided for some time, and, though in an infirm state of health, mixed in the best society of the Scottish capital, and treasured up those graphic pictures of men and manners which he afterwards embodied in his last and best novel, Humphrey Clinker.

At the foot of the Pleasance, and extending between that ancient thoroughfare and the valley that skirts the base of Salisbury Crags, is a rising ground called St John's Hill, which, from its vicinity to the places already described, may be presumed to have derived its name from the same cause. The knights of St John of Jerusalem, who succeeded to the forfeited possessions of the Templars, it is well-known held lands in almost every shire in Scotland, and claimed a jurisdiction, even within the capital, over certain tenements built on their ground, some of which, now remaining in the Grassmarket, still bear the name of Temple Lands. In the absence of all evidence on this subject, we venture to suggest the probability of a similar proprietorship having been the source of this name. In the earliest map of Edinburgh which exists, that of 1544, a church of large dimensions appears occupying the exact site of St John's Hill, but this is no doubt intended for the Blackfriars Monastery which stood on the opposite side of the Pleasance. It is possible that some early deeds or charters may yet be discovered to throw light on this subject, though we have been unsuccessful in the search. The Templars, indeed, would seem to have had an establishment at Mount Hooly on the southern verge of St Leonard's Hill. "On the eastern side of Newington," says Maitland, "on a gentle eminence denominated *Mons Sacre* or Holy Mount, now corruptly Mount Hooly, was situate a chapel, which, from the position of the bodies buried cross legged ways, with their swords by their sides, which were found lately in digging there, I take to have belonged to the Knights Templars." It is difficult now to fix the exact site of this interesting spot, owing to the changes effected on the whole district by the extended buildings of the town.¹

¹ Maitland, p. 176, where a reference is made to the Council Registers, but we have searched them in vain for any notice of it under the date assigned. The fact of cross-legged corpses with swords by their sides being dug up, is, to say the least of it, somewhat marvellous, and merited a more elaborate narrative from that careful historian. Perhaps, however, it should be understood as referring to sculptured figures.

On the north side of the Canongate, opposite to St John Street, a large and lofty stone tenement bears the name of Jack's Land, where the lovely Susannah, Countess of Eglinton, resided during her latter years, and was visited by Lady Jane Douglas, as appears in the evidence of the Douglas Cause. The other tenants of its numerous *flats* were doubtless of corresponding importance in the social scale ;¹ but its most eminent occupant was David Hume, who removed thither from Riddle's Land, Lawnmarket, in 1753, while engaged in writing his History of England, and continued to reside at Jack's Land, during the most important period of his literary career. Immediately behind this, in a court on the east side of Big Jack's Close, there existed till a few years since some remains of the town mansion of General Dalrymple, commander of the forces in Scotland during most of the reign of Charles II., and the merciless persecutor of the outlawed presbyterians during that period. The General's dwelling is described in the *Minor Antiquities*² as "one of the meanest-looking buildings ever, perhaps, inhabited by a gentleman." In this, however, the author was deceived by the humble appearance of the small portion that then remained. There is no reason to believe that the stern *Muscovite*,—as he was styled from serving under the Russian Czar, during the protectorate,—tempered his cruelties by any such Spartan like virtues. The General's residence, on the contrary, appears to have done full credit to a courtier of the restoration. We owe the description of it, as it existed about the beginning of the present century, to a very zealous antiquary³ who was born there in 1787, and resided in the house for many years. He has often conversed with another of its tenants who remembered being taken to Holyrood when a child to see Prince Charles on his arrival at the palace of his forefathers. The chief apartment was a hall of unusually large dimensions, with an arched or waggon-shaped ceiling adorned with a painting of the sun in the centre, surrounded by gilded rays on an azure ground. The remainder of the ceiling was painted to represent sky and clouds, and spangled over with a series of silvered stars in relief. The large windows were closed below with carved oaken shutters, similar in style to the fine specimen still remaining in Riddle's Close, and the same kind of windows existed in other parts of the building. The kitchen also was worthy of notice for a fire-place, formed of a plain circular arch, of such unusual dimensions that popular credulity might have assigned it for the perpetration of those rites it had ascribed to him, of spiting and roasting his miserable captives!⁴ Our in-

¹ The following advertisement will probably be considered a curious illustration of the Canongate aristocracy at a still later period :—"A negro run-away.—That on Wednesday the 10th current, an East-india negro lad eloped from a family of distinction residing in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and is supposed to have gone towards Newcastle. He is of the mulatto colour, aged betwixt sixteen and seventeen years, about five feet high, having long black hair, slender made and long limbed. He had on, when he went off, a brown cloth short coat, with brass buttons, mounted with black and yellow button holes, breeches of the same, and a yellow vest with black and yellow lace, with a brown duffle surtout coat, with yellow lining, and metal buttons, grey and white marled stockings, a fine English hat with yellow lining, having a gold loop and tassel, and double gilded button. As this negro lad has carried off sundry articles of value, whoever shall receive him, so that he may be restored to the owner, on sending notice thereof to Patrick M'Dougal, writer in Edinburgh, shall be handsomely rewarded."—*Edinburgh Advertiser*, March 12th, 1773. An earlier advertisement in the *Courant*, March 7th, 1727, offers a reward for the apprehension of another run away :—"A negro woman, named Ann, about eighteen years of age, with a green gown, and a brass collar about her neck on which are engraved these words, 'Gustavus Brown in Dalkeith, his negro, 1726.'"

² *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh*, p. 230.

³ Mr Wm. Rowan, librarian New College.

⁴ *Fountainhall's Decisions*, vol. i. p. 159. *Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 334.

formant was told by an intelligent old man, who had resided in the house for many years, that a chapel formerly stood on the site of the open court, but all traces of it were removed in 1779. It is not at all inconsistent with the character of the fierce old cavalier that he should have erected a private chapel for his own use. Death fortunately stepped in, says his fellow soldier, Captain Crichton, in allusion to the dilemma in which the general was placed on the accession of James VII., and "rescued him from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of duty to his prince on one side, and *true zeal for his religion* on the other."¹ The main idea that seems to have guided him through life was a chivalrous loyalty. He allowed his beard to grow, as a manifestation of his grief on the beheading of King Charles, and retained it unaltered till his death, though it latterly acquired a venerable amplitude that attracted a crowd whenever he appeared in public. The early history of chivalry furnishes many examples in proof of the perfect compatibility of such devoted loyalty with the cruelties which have rendered his name infamous to posterity.

The Shoemakers' Lands, which stand to the east of Jack's Land, are equally lofty, and more picturesque buildings. One of them especially, immediately opposite to Moray House, is a very singular and striking object in the stately range of substantial stone tenements that extend from New Street to the Canongate Tolbooth. A highly adorned tablet surmounts the main entrance, enriched with angels' heads, and a border of Elizabethan ornament enclosing the Shoemakers' Arms, with the date 1677. An open book is inscribed with the first verse of the Scottish metre version of the 123d Psalm,—a motto that appears to have been in special repute, towards the close of the seventeenth century, among the suburban corporations, being also inscribed over the Tailors' Hall of Easter Portsburgh and the Shoemakers' Land in the West Port. The turnpike stair,—the entrance to which is graced by this motto, and the further inscription, in smaller letters, *IT IS AN HONOUR FOR MAN TO CEASE FROM STRIFE*,—rises above the roof of the building, and is crowned with an ogee roof of singular character, flanked on either side by picturesque gables to the street. The first of the two tenements to the west of this, at the head of Shoemakers' Close, has an open pannel on its front, from which the inscription appears to have been removed; but the other, which bears the date 1725, is still adorned with the same arms, and the following moral aphorism:—

BLESSED IS HE THAT WISELY DO
TH THE POOR MAN'S CASE CONSIDER.

The hall of the once wealthy Corporation of Cordiners or Shoemakers of Canongate, to whom this property belonged, stood on the west side of Little Jack's Close, adorned with the insignia of the Souters' Craft, and furnished for the convivial meetings of the fraternity with huge oaken tables and chairs; and with a substantial carved oaken throne, adorned with the arms,—a paring knife surmounted by a crown,—and the date 1682, for the inauguration of King Crispin on the 25th of October, or St Crispin's Day. It was long the annual custom of the craft to elect a king, who was borne through the town, attended by his subjects, dressed in all sorts of fantastic and showy attire; after which he held his

¹ *Memoirs of Captain Crichton, Swift's works, London, 1803, vol. xiv. p. 318.*

court at the Corporation Hall, and celebrated his coronation with royal festivities. Unhappily for the Cordiners of Canongate, the sumptuary laws of the old Scottish Parliaments were not framed to curb the excesses of *cobler kings*. King Crispin and his train grew more extravagant every year. He latterly rode in this fantastic annual pageant in ermined robes, attended by prince, premier, champion in armour, and courtiers of all degrees, mounted on horseback, and decked in the most gaudy costume they could procure, until at length the whole wealth and property of the corporation were dissipated in this childish foolery, and King Crispin retired to private life, and the humbler relaxation of cobbling shoes! Mrs Malcolm, an old dame of a particularly shrewish disposition, who inhabited an attic in the Shoemakers' Land towards the close of last century, was long known by the title of the *Princess* her husband having for many years represented *the Black Prince*, and she his sable consort,—two essential characters in King Crispin's pageant. There can be little doubt that this frivolous sport was a relic of much earlier times, when the Cordiners of the neighbouring capital, incorporated in the year 1449, proceeded annually, on the anniversary of their patron saint, to the altar of St Crispin and St Crispinian, founded and maintained by them in the collegiate church of St Giles.¹ Nor is it improbable, that in the *princess* a traditional remembrance was preserved of the *Queen of the Canongate*, mentioned in the Treasury accounts of James IV.

The Canongate Tolbooth,—a view of which heads this chapter,—has long been a favourite subject for the artist's pencil, as one of the most picturesque edifices of the Old Town. It forms the court-house and jail of the burgh, erected in the reign of James VI. soon after the abolition of religious houses had left this ancient dependency of the Abbey free to govern itself. Even then, however, Adam Bothwell, the Protestant commendator of Holyrood, retained some portion of the ancient rights of his mitred predecessors over the burgh. The present structure is the successor of a much earlier building, probably on the same site. The date on the tower is 1591; and preparations for its erection appear in the Burgh Register seven years before this, where it is enacted that no remission of fees shall be granted to any one, "unto the tyme the tolbuith of this burch be edefeit and biggit."² Nevertheless we find by the Burgh Registers for 1561, "*Curia capitalis burgi vici canonicorum Monasterii Sancte Crucis prope Edinburgh, tenta in pretorio ejusdem;*" and frequent references occur to the *tolbuith*, both as a court-house and prison, in the Registers and in the Treasurer's accounts, *e. g.* 1574, "To sax pynouris att the bailleis command for taking doun of the lintall stane of the auld tolbuith windo, iijs. vjd." The very next entry is a fee "to ane new pyper," an official of the Burgh of whom various notices are found at this early period.

The *Hotel de Ville* of this ancient burgh is surmounted by a tower and spire, flanked by two turrets in front, from between which a clock of large dimensions projects into the street. This formerly rested on curiously carved oaken beams, which appear in Storer's views published in 1818, but they have since been replaced by plain cast-iron supports.

Maitland, p. 305. The earliest notice we have found of the Cordiners of Canongate occurs in the Burgh Register, 10th June 1574, where "William Quhite, being electit and chosin diacone of the cordonaris be his brethir for this present yeir, . . . is reassavit in place of umquhill Andro Purves." From this they appear to have been then an incorporated body.—Canongate Burgh Register; *Mait. Misc.* vol. ii. p. 329.

² Canongate Burgh Register, 18th October 1584; *Ibid.* p. 353.

The building is otherwise adorned with a variety of mottoes and sculptured devices in the style that prevailed at the date of its erection. Between the windows of the first and second floor of the tower an ornamental sun-dial appears, and underneath the lower window a carved tablet bears the following inscription :—

☞ S. L. B.
PATRIÆ ET POSTERIS, 1591.

There are two bells in the tower, the oldest of which has this favourite motto, with the date, cast on it :—SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA, 1608. The larger bell, as appears from its inscription, was cast in 1796. Over the inner door-way, which leads both to the court-house and the prison, are these appropriate words—ESTO FIDUS ; and on the most conspicuous part of the edifice, between the large windows of the council hall, a highly ornamental pannel, surmounted by a pediment adorned with a large thistle, bears the following legend :—J. R. 6. JUSTITIA ET PIETAS VALIDE SUNT PRINCIPIS ARCES. Within the pannel the burgh arms are emblazoned, viz., a stag's head with a cross between the tynes, in commemoration of the monastic legend to which the origin of Saint David's Abbey and its burgh is referred ; and underneath the motto, SIC ITUR AD ASTRA ; an unfailling subject of mirth to the profane wits of the capital, as an avowal by the old vassals of the church that they now seek the way to heaven through the burgh jail.



The independence of the burgh of Canongate was of brief duration, the magistrates of Edinburgh having purchased the superiority of it from the Earl of Roxburgh, and procured a charter of confirmation from Charles I. in 1636. It is still governed by its own magistrates, and a baron bailie elected by the Edinburgh Town-Council, who thus come in the place of the Abbot of Holyrood as over-lords of the burgh. These hold weekly courts for the punishment of petty offenders, and the settlement of disputed questions on small debts ; and in general exercise full control over the public affairs of the burgh.

The ancient market cross formerly stood nearly opposite to the Tolbooth. It is represented in Gordon's map, as mounted on a stone gallery somewhat similar to that of the neighbouring capital, though on a smaller scale. This has long since disappeared, but the elegant cross, represented in the accompanying vignette, still exists attached to the south-east corner of the Tolbooth.

Its chief use in latter times was as the pillory ; and the iron staple remains to which the culprit used to be secured by an iron collar round the neck, styled *the Joughs*, a species of punishment which continued in use within the recollection of some of our older citizens.¹

¹ "31st October, 1567. The quhilk daye Bessie Tailzeifeir being accensit be the bailleis and counsall of the sclandering of Thos. Hantar, baillie, . . . thairfoir ordanit the said Bessie to be brankit the morne and set upone

Moray House, which is one of the most remarkable objects of interest in the Canongate, formed until 1835 part of the entailed estate of the noble house of Moray, in whose possession it remained exactly two hundred years; having become the property of Margaret, Countess of Moray, in 1645, by an arrangement with her younger sister Anne, then Countess of Lauderdale, and co-heiress with her of their mother, the Countess of Home, by whom Moray House was built.¹ This noble mansion presents more striking architectural features than any other private building in Edinburgh, and is associated with some of the most interesting events in Scottish history. It was erected in the early part of the reign of Charles I. by Mary, Countess of Home, the eldest daughter of Edward, Lord Dudley, and then a widow. Her initials, M. H., are sculptured over the large centre window of the south gable, surmounted by a ducal coronet; and over the corresponding window to the north are the lions of Home and Dudley, impaled on a lozenge, in accordance with the ancient laws of heraldry. The house was erected some years before the visit of Charles I. to Scotland, and his coronation at Holyrood in 1633. It can scarcely, therefore, admit of doubt that its halls have been graced by the presence of that unfortunate monarch, though the Countess soon after contributed largely towards the success of his opponents, as appears by the re-payment by the English parliament, in 1644, of seventy thousand pounds which had been advanced by her to the Scottish covenanting government;—an unusually large sum to be found at the disposal of the dowager of a Scottish earl.

On the first visit of Oliver Cromwell to Edinburgh, in the summer of 1648, he took up his residence at “the lady Home’s lodging, in the Canongate,” as it then continued to be called; and entered into friendly negotiations with the nobles and leaders of the extreme party of the covenanters. According to Guthrie, “he did communicate to them his design in reference to the king, and had their assent thereto;”² in consequence of which “the Lady Home’s house, in the Canongate, became an object of mysterious curiosity, from the general report at the time that the design to execute Charles I. was there first discussed and approved.”³ This, however, which, if it could be relied on, would add so peculiar an interest to the mansion, must be regarded as the mere cavalier gossip of the period. Even if we could believe that Cromwell’s designs were matured at that time, he was too wary a politician to hazard them by such premature and profitless confidence; but there can be no doubt of the future measures of resistance to the king having formed a prominent subject in their discussions.

In the year 1650, only two years after the Parliamentary General’s residence in the Canongate, the fine old mansion was the scene of joyous banquetings and revelry on the occasion of the marriage of Lord Lorn—afterwards better known as the unfortunate Earl of

the cross of this bruche, thair to remane the space of ane hour.” On the 6th October, 1572, the treasurer is ordered “to vpput and big sufficiently the corce,” which had probably suffered in some of the reforming mobs; and may have been then, for the first time, elevated on a platform.—Canongate Burgh Register, Mait. Misc. vol. ii. pp. 303, 326.

¹ The entail was broke by a clause in one of the acts of the North British Railway Company, who had purchased the ancient Trinity Hospital for their terminus, and proposed to fit up Moray House in its stead; an arrangement which it is to be regretted has not been carried into effect. The name of *Regent Murray’s House*, latterly applied to the old mansion, is a spurious tradition of very recent origin. Its most common title, about the beginning of the present century, was *The Linen Hall*, from its having been long occupied by the British Linen Company, now the wealthiest banking company in Scotland.

² Guthrie’s Memoirs, p. 298.

³ Napier’s Life of Montrose, p. 441.

Argyle—with Lady Mary Stuart, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Moray. The wedding-feast took place on the 13th of May, and the friends were still celebrating the auspicious alliance of these two noble families, when, on Saturday the 18th of May, the already excommunicated and doomed Marquis of Montrose was brought a captive to Edinburgh. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the magistrates and guard received their prisoner at the Water Gate, and, after reading to him his barbarous sentence, he was ignominiously bound to a low cart provided for the occasion. The common hangman, who acted as master of the ceremonies, having uncovered the Marquis, he mounted the horse before him, and the melancholy procession moved slowly up the Canongate, a band of meaner prisoners, bound two and two, going bareheaded before him.

The striking contrast presented in this scene is painfully illustrative of the vicissitudes that accompany civil war. Montrose had fought with and overthrown his great rival the Marquis of Argyle, father of the young Lord Lorn, and had driven him almost a solitary fugitive to the sea, while he wasted his country with fire and sword. As the noble captive was borne beneath the windows of Moray House, the wedding guests, including the Earl of Loudoun, then Lord Chancellor, Lord Warriston, and the Countess of Haddington, along with the Marquis of Argyle, and the bride and bridegroom,¹ stepped out on the fine old stone balcony that overhangs the street to gaze upon their prostrate enemy. It is said that the Lady Jane Gordon, Countess of Haddington, Argyle's niece, so far forgot her sex as to spit upon him as he passed, in her revengeful triumph over their fallen foe. But the marriage party quailed before the calm gaze of the noble captive. Though suffering from severe wounds, in addition to the mortification and insult to which he was exposed, he preserved the same composure and serenity with which he afterwards submitted to a felon's death, appearing even on the scaffold,—as Nicoll relates,—in a style “more becoming a bridegroom, nor a criminal going to the gallows.”² On Montrose turning his eye on the party assembled on the balcony at Moray House to rejoice over his fall, they shrank back with hasty discomposure, and disappeared from the windows, leaving the gloomy procession to wend onward on its way to the Tolbooth.³ This remarkable incident acquires a deeper interest, when we consider that three of these onlookers, including the gay and happy bridegroom, perished by the hand of the executioner on the same fatal spot to which the gallant Marquis was passing under their gaze.

The period of which we write was one of rapid change. Little more than four months had elapsed when the army of the Covenanters, with Leslie at its head, was signally defeated at Dunbar, and the victorious General Cromwell entered the Scottish capital as a conqueror, and once more took up his quarters at Moray House. Throughout the winter of 1650, its stately halls were crowded with Parliamentary commissioners and military and civil courtiers attendant on the General's levee.⁴ Its next occupant of note was the Lord Chancellor Seafield, who appears to have resided there at the period of the Union, and peopled its historic halls with new associations, as the scene of the numerous secret deli-

¹ “It was reported that, in 1650, when the Marquis of Montrose was brought up prisoner from the Water Gate in a cart, this Argyle was feeding his eyes with the sight in the Lady Murray's balcony in the Canongate, with his daughter, his lady, to whom he was now married, and that he was seen playing and smiling with her.”—Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, 1685, p. 185.

² Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 18.

³ *Wigton Papers*; *Mait. Misc.* vol. ii. pp. 482, 483.

⁴ *Ante*, vol. i. p. 95.

berations that preceded the ratification of that treaty. The stately old terraced gardens remain nearly in the same state as when the peers and commoners of the last Scottish Parliament frequented its avenues. The picturesque summer-house, adorned with its quaint old lions, in which the Unionists are said to have been scared while signing some of their preliminary treaties, is still there. The upper terrace is shaded by a magnificent thorn tree, which appears to be much older than the house; on the second, a curious arbour has been constructed by the interlacing stems of trees, twisted into the fantastic forms in which our ancestors delighted; and, on the lowest terrace, a fine fountain of clear water is guarded by the marble statue of a little fisher, with his basket at his feet filled with the mimic spoils of the rod and line. The garden has a southern aspect, and is of large dimensions, and both it and the house might still afford no unsuitable accommodation to the proudest Earl in the Scottish Peerage.

Directly opposite to the Old Tolbooth, and not far removed from the stately mansion of the Earls of Moray, is an antique fabric of a singularly picturesque character, associated with the name of one of the adversaries of that noble house—George, first Marquis of Huntly, who murdered the Bonny Earl of Moray in 1591. The evidence, indeed, is not complete which assigns this as the dwelling of the first Marquis, but it is rendered exceedingly probable from the fact that his residence was in the Canongate, and that this fine old mansion was occupied at a later period by his descendants. In June 1636, he was carried from his lodging in the Canongate, with the hope of reaching his northern territories before his death, but he got no farther than Dundee, where he died in his seventy-fourth year.¹ The same noble lodging was the abode of the unfortunate Marquis, who succeeded to his father's title, and perished on the block at the Cross of Edinburgh in 1649. Ten years before that, their old mansion in the Canongate was the scene of special rejoicing and festivity, on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter, Lady Ann, with the Lord Drummond, afterwards third Earl of Perth, "who was ane preceise puritane, and therefore weill lyked in Edinburgh."² The house was occupied, when Maitland wrote, by the Duchess Dowager of Gordon; and through a misinterpretation of the evidence given by some of the witnesses concerned in the murder of Darnley in 1567, he pronounces it to have been the Mint Office of Scotland at that period. If the date on the building, which is 1570, be that of its erection, it settles the question. But, at any rate, an examination of the evidence referred to leaves no doubt that the Mint was situated at the period entirely without the Canongate, and in the outer court of the Palace of Holyrood,³ though this has not prevented the historian being followed, as usual, without investigation by later writers. We have engraved a view of this curious old mansion as it appears from the Bakehouse Close. It presents an exceedingly picturesque row of timber-fronted gables to the street, resting on a uniform range of ornamental corbels projecting from the stone basement story. A series of sculptured tablets adorn the front of the building, containing certain pious aphorisms, differing in style from those so frequently occurring on the buildings

¹ Spalding's History of the Troubles, vol. i. p. 42.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 177.

³ "Incontinent the Erle [Bothwell] French Paris, William Powry, servitor and porter to the said Erle, Pat. Wilson, and the deponar, geid down the turnpike altogidder, and endlong the back of the Queenis garden *quhill zow cum to the Cunzie-Hous*, and the back of the stabilis, [seemingly what is now called the Horse Wynd,] *quhill zow cum to the Cannongate foreanent the Abbey zet.*"—Deposition of George Dalgleish; Crim. Trials, Supp. p. 495.



MANSION OF GEORGE, 1ST MARQUIS OF HUNTLY.

PAKEHOUSE CLOSE, CANONGATE.

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of the sixteenth century. On one is inscribed:—"CONSTANTI PECTORI RES MORTALIVM VMBRA." On another:—"UT TU LINGVÆ TVÆ, SIC EGO MEAR: AVRIVM DOMINVS SVM." A third tablet bears the date, with an inscription of a similar character; but these have long been concealed by a painting of Lord Nelson, which forms the sign of a tavern now occupying a portion of the old Marquis' mansion. On an upright tablet, at the west end, is the ingenious emblem of the resurrection referred to in the description of an edifice in the Old Bank Close which was similarly adorned.

On the east side of the Bakehouse or Hammermen's Close, an ornamental archway, with pendant keystone, in the fashion prevalent towards the close of James the Sixth's reign, forms the entrance to a small enclosed court, surrounded on three sides by the residence of Sir Archibald Acheson of Glencairney, one of the Lords of Session appointed soon after the accession of Charles I. He was created by the King a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628, and was afterwards appointed one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland. Over the pediment above the main entrance the Baronet's crest, a Cock standing on a Trumpet, is cut in bold relief; and below, the motto *vigilantibus*, with a cypher containing the letters A. M. H., being the initials of Sir Archibald Acheson, and Dame Margaret Hamilton, his wife. The date on the building is 1633, the same year in which Charles I. paid his first visit to his native capital. The building is a handsome erection in the style of the period; though a curious proof of the rude state in which the mechanical arts remained at that date is afforded by the square hole being still visible, at the side of the main doorway, wherein the old oaken bar slid out and in for securely fastening the door. The three sides of the court are ornamented with dormer windows, containing the initials of the builder and his wife, and other architectural decorations in the style of the period.

The range of houses to the eastward of the patrician mansions described above still includes many of an early date, and some associated with names once prominent in Scottish story. Milton House, a handsome large mansion, built in the somewhat heavy style which was in use during the eighteenth century, derives its name from Andrew Fletcher of Milton, Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, who succeeded the celebrated Lord Fountainhall on the bench in the year 1724, and continued to preside as a judge of the Court of Session till his death in 1766. He was much esteemed for the mild and forbearing manner with which he exercised his authority as Lord Justice-Clerk after the Rebellion of 1745. He sternly discouraged all informers, and many communications which he suspected to have been sent by over-officious and malignant persons were found in his repositories, after his death, unopened.¹ He was a nephew of the patriotic Fletcher of Salton, and an intimate friend and coadjutor of Archibald, Duke of Argyle, during whose administration he exercised a wise and beneficial control over the government patronage in Scotland. The old mansion which thus formed the mimic scene of court levees, where Hanoverian and Jacobite candidates for royal favour elbowed one another in the chace, still retains unequivocal marks of its former grandeur, notwithstanding the many strange tenants who have since occupied it. The drawing-room to the south, the windows of which command a beautiful and uninterrupted view of Salisbury Crags and St Leonard's Hill, has its walls very tastefully decorated with a series of designs of landscapes and allegorical figures, with rich borders

¹ Branton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 499.

of fruit and flowers, painted in distemper. They are said to be the work of a foreign artist, and are executed with great spirit. From the style of the landscapes, more especially, we feel little hesitation in ascribing the whole to the pencil of Francesco Zuccherelli, who had a high reputation in England during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Interspersed among the ornamental borders there are various grotesque figures, which have the appearance of being copies from an illuminated missal of the fourteenth century. They represent a cardinal, a monk, a priest, and other churchmen, painted with great humour and extreme drollery of attitude and expression. They so entirely differ from the general character of the composition, that their insertion may be conjectured to have originated in a whim of Lord Milton, which the artist has contrived to execute without sacrificing the harmony of his design. An elegant cornice, finished with painting and gilding, and a richly stuccoed ceiling, complete the decorations of this fine apartment.

The house was occupied until recently as a Roman Catholic School, under the care of the Sisters of Charity of St Margaret's Convent. The pupils particularly attracted the attention of her Majesty, Queen Victoria, on her visit to the capital in 1842, as they strewed flowers in her path on her approach from the palace of her ancestors by the ancient royal thoroughfare of the Canongate. It has since been used as a Deaf and Dumb School, and is now appropriated to the benevolent objects of the Royal Maternity Hospital.

The fine open grounds which surround Milton House, with the site on which it is built, formed a large and beautiful garden, attached to the mansion of the Earls of Roxburghe. Lord Fountainhall reports a dispute, in 1694, between the Trades of Canongate and the Earl of Roxburghe, in which the Lords declared his house in the Canongate free, and himself empowered, by right of certain clauses in a contract between the Earl, the Town of Edinburgh, and Heriot's Hospital, to employ artificers on his house who were not freemen of the burgh.¹ Such contentions, originating in the jealousy of the Corporations of the Canongate, are of frequent occurrence at the period, and show with how despotic a spirit they were prepared to guard their exclusive rights. On the 2d June 1681, a complaint was laid before the Privy Council by the celebrated Lord Halton, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale,² stating that he was then building a lodging for himself in the Canongate, and having employed some country masons, the craftsmen of the burgh assaulted them, and carried off their tools. In the evidence, it is shown that even a freeman of the capital dared not encroach on the bounds of the Canongate; and that, "in 1671, the Privy Council fined David Pringle, chirurgeon, for employing one Wood, an unfree barber, to exerce his calling in polling the children's heads in Heriot's Hospital!"³ In this case Lord Halton seems also to have been left free to employ his own workmen; but the craftsmen were declared warranted in their interference, and therefore free from the charge of rioting. The Earl of Roxburghe's mansion appears, from Edgar's map, to have stood on the west side of the garden, and to have been afterwards occupied by his brother John, the fifth Earl, who took an active share in promoting the Union. He was soon after ele-

¹ Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 614.

² Queensberry House having been built on ground purchased from the Lauderdale family, (Traditions, vol. i. p. 280,) it seems probable that that ducal mansion occupies the site of Lord Halton's House.

³ Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 138-9.

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Drawn by D. Wilson

Engraved by T. Stewart

NISBET OF DIRLETON'S HOUSE

CANONGATE.

vated to a dukedom in the British Peerage, and successively filled the offices of Keeper of the Privy Seal and Secretary of State for Scotland.

At the head of Reid's Close stands the ancient and picturesque stone tenement, designated in the accompanying engraving Nisbet of Dirleton's House, which appears by the date on it to have been erected in the year 1624. Its basement story is substantially arched with stone, in accordance with the fashion of that age, when a citizen's mansion had occasionally to be made his castle, in a very different sense from that which is now maintained as the theory of British law. This edifice, which was probably reared by some courtier of note and influence at that period, afterwards became the residence of Sir John Nisbet, who was promoted to the Bench in 1664, under the title of Lord Dirleton, and was the last who held the office of Lord Advocate conjointly with that of a Judge. He was the predecessor of Sir George Mackenzie as Lord Advocate, and is accused, both by Kirkton and Wodrow, of making himself the tool of the Bishops. The latter relates a curious instance of his zeal in persecuting the unfortunate Covenanters. Robert Gray having been brought before the Council, and examined as to his knowledge of the hiding places of some of the leaders of that party, without their succeeding in obtaining from him the desired information, Sir John took a ring from the man's finger and sent it to Mrs Gray by a trusty messenger, who informed her that her husband had told all he knew of the Whigs, and that he sent this ring to her in token that she might do the same. Deceived by this ingenious fraud, the poor woman revealed their places of concealment; but her husband was so affected that he sickened, and died a few days after. The south front of the house appears in the engraving of Reid's Close, and is singularly picturesque, and somewhat unique in its character.

A little further to the eastward, on the same side, is the huge mansion erected by William, first Duke of Queensberry, the builder of Drumlanrig Castle, who exercised almost absolute power in Scotland during the latter years of the reign of Charles II., and presided as high commissioner in the first parliament of James VII. He afterwards took an active share in the revolution that placed the Prince of Orange on the throne; a step which did not prove sufficient to redeem him from the hatred of the presbyterian party, against whom his power had been used in a very cruel and arbitrary manner. He died in the Canongate in 1695. His character was made up of the strangest contradictions; a great miser, yet magnificent in buildings and pleasure grounds; illiterate, yet a collector of books, and commanding in his letters,—which he dictated to a secretary,—a style that is admirable.¹ His son, the active promoter of the union, and the lord high commissioner under whose auspices it was accomplished, kept court here during that stormy period, and frequently found his huge mansion surrounded by the infuriated mob who so pertinaciously pursued every abettor of that hated measure.² But the most eminent occupants of Queensberry House are Charles, the third Duke, who was born there in 1698, and his celebrated

¹ A collection of his letters now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., would form a curious and valuable acquisition to the literary world if published.

² A mysterious and horrible story is related in the "Traditions of Edinburgh" concerning the duke's eldest son, Lord Drumlanrig, an idiot, who, being deserted by his keeper on the day the union was passed,—the whole household having gone off, with the exception of a little kitchen boy,—escaped from his confinement, murdered the boy, and was found roasting him at the fire when the domestics returned in triumph from the Parliament Close. The dreadful tale soon became known, and it was universally regarded as a judgment on the duke for his share in the union.

Duchess, Lady Catherine Hyde, the patroness of the poet Gay, and the beauty of the court of George I., whose sprightliness and wit have been commemorated in the numbers of Pope, Swift, and Prior; and whom Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, celebrated in her old age, as—

Prior's Kitty, ever fair!

The eccentric beauty espoused the cause of Gay with such warmth, that on the Lord Chamberlain refusing to sanction the representation of *Polly*, a piece intended as a continuation of the Beggar's Opera, she received the poet into her house as her private



secretary, and both she and the Duke withdrew, in high dudgeon from court. Gay accompanied his fair patroness to Edinburgh, and resided some time at Queensberry House. His intercourse with the author of "the Gentle Shepherd" has already been referred to, as well as his frequent visits to the poet's shop at the cross.¹ We furnish a view of another, and much humbler haunt of the poet during his residence in Edinburgh. It is a small lath and plaster edifice of considerable antiquity, which still stands directly opposite Queensberry House, and is said to have been a much frequented tavern in Gay's time, kept by a hospitable old dame, called Janet

Hall; and, if tradition is to be believed, *Jenny Ha's change house* was a frequent scene of the poet's relaxations, with the congenial wits of the Scottish capital.²

The huge dimensions of Queensberry House are best estimated from the fact of its having been subsequently converted into barracks and an hospital. The latest purpose to which this once magnificent ducal residence has been applied, as a "House of Refuge for the Destitute," seems to complete its descent in the scale of degradation. Little idea, however, can now be formed, from the vast and unadorned proportions which the ungainly edifice presents both externally and internally, of its appearance while occupied by its original owners. The whole building was then a story lower than it is at present. The wings were surmounted with neat ogee roofs. The centre had a French roof, with storm windows, in the style of the palace of Versailles, and the chimney stalks were sufficiently ornamental to add to the general effect of the building, so that the whole appearance of the mansion, though plain, was perfectly in keeping with the residence of a nobleman and the representative of majesty. The internal decorations were of the most costly description, including very richly carved marble chimney pieces. On the house being dismantled many of these were purchased by the Earl of Wemyss, for completing his new mansion of Gosford House, near Edinburgh; but his successors have continued to prefer the old

¹ Ante, vol. i. p. 199.

² Traditions, vol. i. p. 291.

mansion, which stands only a few hundred yards from the modern pile ; and it is left accordingly in a more desolate state even than the deserted edifice in the Canongate, with whose spoils it should have been adorned.

On the site now occupied by a brewery, a little to the eastward of Queensberry House, formerly stood Lothian hut, a small but very splendidly finished mansion, erected by William, the third Marquis of Lothian, about 1750, and in which he died in 1767. His Marchioness, who survived him twenty years, continued to reside there till her death, and it was afterwards occupied by the Lady Caroline D'Arcy, Dowager Marchioness of the fourth Marquis. This scene of former rank and magnificence would have possessed a deeper interest had it now remained, from its having formed for many years the residence of the celebrated philosopher, Dugald Stuart, and the place where he carried on many of his most important literary labours.

At the head of Panmure Close, on the north side of the street, an ancient edifice of the time of Queen Mary still exists. It has already been referred to as bearing the earliest date on any private building in the Canongate. It consists, like other buildings of the period, of a lower erection of stone with a fore stair leading to the first floor, and an ornamental turnpike within, affording access to the upper chambers of the building. At the top of a very steep wooden stair, constructed alongside of the latter, a very rich specimen of carved oak panneling remains in good preservation, adorned with the Scottish lion, displayed within a broad wreath, and surrounded by a variety of ornament. The doorway of the inner turnpike bears on the sculptured lintel the initials I. H., a shield, charged with a cheveron and a hunting horn in base ; and the date 1565, which leaves little reason to doubt that its builder was John Hunter, a wealthy burgess, who filled the office of treasurer of the burgh in 1568. The name of Panmure Close is derived from its having been the access to Panmure House, an old mansion, part of which still remains at the foot of Monroe's Close, now occupied as an iron foundry. It formed the town residence of the Earl of Panmure, who was succeeded in it towards the middle of last century by the Countess of Aberdeen. At that time it was pleasantly surrounded by open garden ground, and was deemed a peculiarly suitable mansion ; and towards the close of the century it was occupied by the celebrated Dr Adam Smith, who spent there the last twelve years of his life. It is now as melancholy a looking abode as could well be assigned for the residence even of a poor author.

John Paterson's House, or THE GOLFER'S LAND, as it is now more generally termed, forms a prominent object among the range of ancient tenements on the south side of the Canongate, and is associated with a romantic tale of the court of James VII., during his residence at Holyrood, as Duke of York. The story narrated in the " Historical Account of the Game of Golf," privately printed by the Leith club of golfers, bears that, during the residence of the Duke in Edinburgh, the question was started on one occasion by two English noblemen, who boasted of their own expertness in the game, as to whether the ancient Scottish amusement was not practised at an equally early date in England. The Duke's fondness for the game has already been referred to,¹ and he was now stimulated to its

¹ Ante, vol. i. p. 104.

defence as a national amusement peculiar to Scotland, from his earnest desire to win the popular favour; in which he was no way more likely to succeed than by flattering their prejudices on any question of nationality, and becoming their champion in its defence. The antiquity of the Scottish game is proved by a statute, passed in the reign of James II., 1457, forbidding the practice of both "fute-ball and golfe," under the penalty of the *Baron's unlaue*, and enacting the use of the Bow in its stead. The evidence on the English side not being so readily forthcoming, the Englishmen offered to rest the legitimacy of their national pretensions on the result of a match to be played by them against his royal highness and any Scotsman he chose to select. The Duke immediately accepted the challenge, and, after careful inquiry, selected as his partner John Paterson, a poor shoemaker of the Canongate, whose ancestors had been celebrated for centuries as proficient in the game, and who then enjoyed the honour of being considered the best golfer of his day. The match was played by the Duke and his partner against their English challengers on the Links of Leith; heavy stakes were risked by the Duke and his noble opponents on the results; and after a hard fought field, the royal champion of Scotland and his humble squire carried the day triumphantly. The poor shoemaker was rewarded with a large share of the stakes forfeited by the challenger, and with this he built the substantial tenement which still records his name, and commemorates his victory over the impugnors of the national sports.

A large and handsome tablet on the front of the mansion bears the Paterson Arms,—three pelicans feeding their young, with three mullets on a chief; and surmounted by a knight's helmet, and a defaced crest, said to be a hand grasping a golfer's club. Over the ground floor, a plain slab is inscribed with the following epigram, from the pen of the celebrated Dr Pitcairn, commemorative of the heroic deeds of the builder, and the national claims which he successfully asserted:—

Cum victor ludo, Scotis qui proprius, esset,
Ter tres victores post redemitos avos,
Patersonus, humo tunc educebat in altum
Hanc, quæ victores tot tulet una, domum.

The letters of this elegant distich were formerly gilded, so as to attract the notice of the passer, but this has entirely disappeared, and the inscription no longer challenges the attention of any but the curious antiquary. Underneath is placed the philanthropic declaration I HATE NO PERSON, which might be supposed the very natural sentiment of one who had achieved such unexpected honour and reward. It proves, however, to be merely the transposition of the letters of his own name into an anagram, according to the quaint fashion of the age. The ancient tenement appears in the accompanying engraving, and the inscriptions upon it leave no reasonable doubt of the traditional fame of the Canongate Golfer. We are sorry in any degree to disturb a tradition backed by such incontrovertible evidence; but it appears probable, from the evidence of the title-deeds, that the Golfer's Land was lost, instead of won, by the gaming propensities of its owner. It was acquired in 1609 by Nicol Paterson, maltman in Leith, from whom it passed in 1632 to his son, John Paterson, and Agnes Lyel, his spouse. He died in 1663, as appears by the epitaph on his tomb,—which existed in Maitland's time in the cemetery attached to Holyrood Abbey,—after having several

times filled the office of bailie of Canongate.¹ Both of these, we may infer from the inscription on the old tenement, were zealous and successful wielders of the Golfing Club,—a virtue which they bequeathed to the younger John Paterson, the hero of the traditional tale, along with the old land which bears his name. The style of the building confirms the idea of its having been rebuilt by him, with the spoils, as we are bound to presume, which he won on Leith Links from “our auld enemies of England.” The title-deeds, however, render it probable, as we have hinted, that other stakes had been played for with less success. In 1691, he grants a bond over the property for £400 Scots. This is followed by letters of caption and horning, and other direful symptoms of legal assault, which pursue the poor golfer to his grave, and remain behind as his sole legacy to his heirs. Paterson appears, from other evidence, to have been immediately succeeded in the old mansion by John, second Lord Bellenden, who died there in 1704; since which time the Golfer’s Land has run its course, like the other tenements of this once patrician burgh, and is now occupied by the same class of plebeian tenants as has every where succeeded to the old courtiers of Holyrood.²

Whiteford House, a comfortable modern mansion, originally occupied by Sir John Whiteford, stands immediately behind Janet Hall’s humble dwelling, surrounded by open gardens, forming the site of the ancient mansion of the Earls of Wintoun. George, the fifth Earl, was attainted in consequence of his share in the ill-concerted insurrection of 1715, and the old edifice, being then forsaken by its noble owners, was abandoned to solitude and decay. The ground is marked in Edgar’s map as the ruins of the Earl of Wintoun’s house; and from the importance of the family, and their love of sumptuous buildings, as well as the extensive space the ruins appear to have occupied, it may be presumed that “my Lord Seaton’s house in the Canongate,” where the French Ambassador Manzeville lodged in 1582,³ in no way belied the charming glimpse of its gloomy quadrangle, with its heavy architraves adorned with armorial bearings and religious devices, afforded in the lively pages of the “Abbot;” or of its lofty hall, surrounded with suits of ancient and rusty armour, interchanged with huge massive stone escutcheons, blazoned with the Seton Arms; all which were so utterly thrown away on the headstrong young page, Roland Græme. Whiteford House was latterly occupied for many years,—till his death in 1823,—by Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, a remarkably pleasing specimen of a gentleman of Old Edinburgh, before its antique mansions and manners had altogether fallen under the ban of modern fashion. He was a nephew of Lady Clanranald, who was con-

¹ Maitland, p. 160.

² The funeral letter of Lord Bellenden, from whence we have derived the information in the text, affords an evidence of the change of manners since it was issued. It is as follows:—“The honour of your presence to accompany the corpse of my Lord Bellenden, my father, from his lodgings in Paterson’s Land, near the Cannongate foot, to his burial place in the Abay Church, upon Sunday the 3d instant, at 8 of the clock in the morning, is earnestly desired by John Bellenden.” Some curious information is given in an “Act in favours of James Donaldson, to print Buriall Letters, Mar. 10, 1699;” wherein it appears “That the petitioner hath fallen upon a device for printing or stamping them in a fine wryt character, . . . by this device the leidges may be both cheiper and sooner served than ordinar, Buriall Letters being oft times in haste; besides the decency and ornament of a border of skeletons’ mortheads, and other emblems of mortality, which the Petitioner hath so contrived that it may be added or abstracted at pleasure!” Documents relative to Scottish printing. Mait. Misc. vol. ii. p. 233-4.

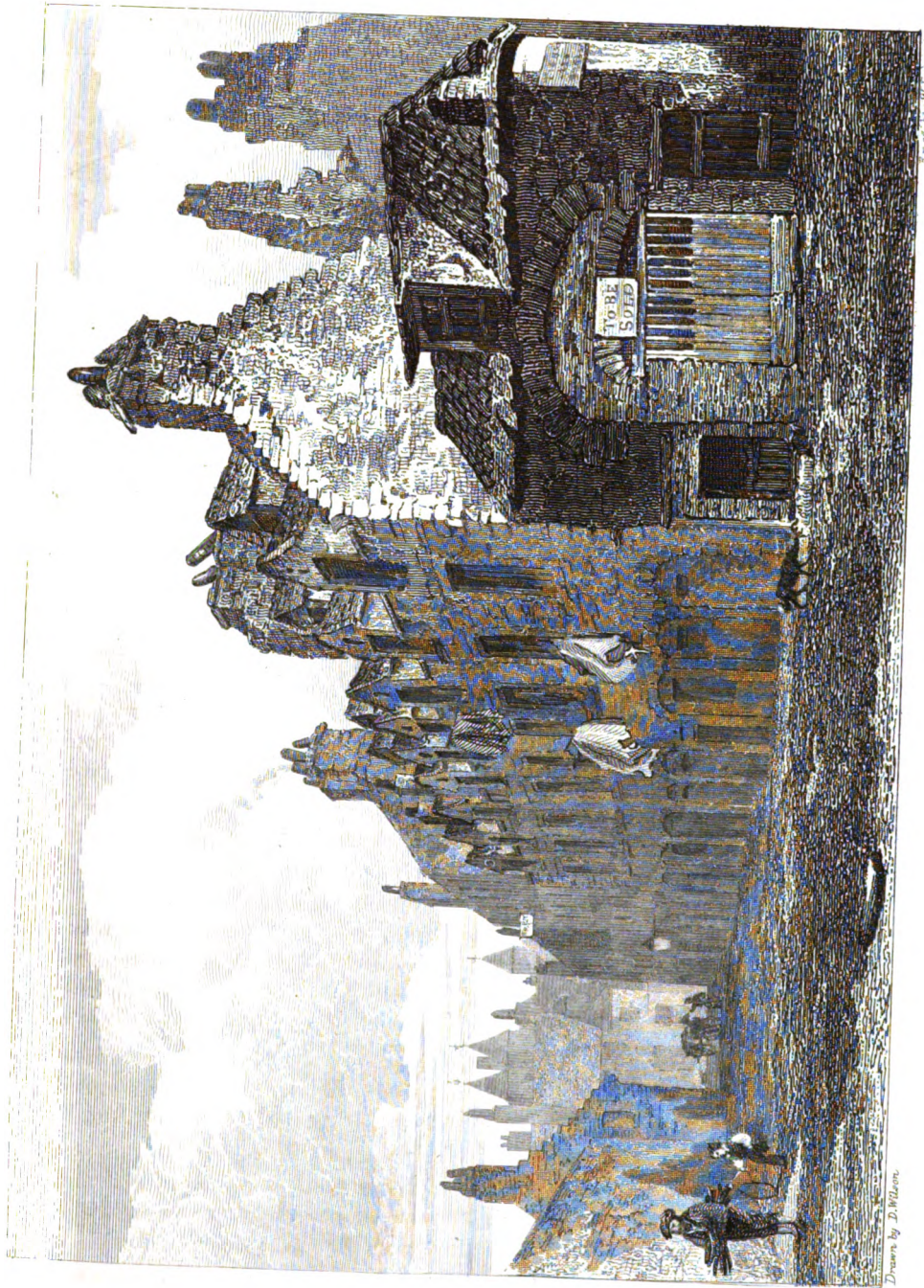
³ Moyse’s Memoirs, p. 77.

fined in the Tower for affording protection to Prince Charles during his wanderings,—so nearly connected are these romantic incidents with our own day. He was raised to the Bench on the death of Lord Swinton, and took his seat as Lord Bannatyne in 1799. He was the last survivor of the Mirror Club, and one of the contributors to that early periodical. His conversational powers were great, and his lively reminiscences of the eminent men, and the leading events of last century, are referred to by those who have enjoyed his cheerful society, when in his ninetieth year, as peculiarly vivid and characteristic.

Among the antique groups of buildings in the Canongate, scarcely any one has more frequently attracted the artist by the picturesque irregularity of its features than the White Horse Close,—an ancient hostelry to which a fresh interest has been attached by the magic pen of Scott, who peopled anew its deserted halls with the creations of his fertile genius. Tradition, with somewhat monotonous pertinacity, affirms that it acquired its name from a celebrated and beautiful white palfrey belonging to Queen Mary.¹ There is no reason, however, to think, from the style and character of the building, that it is any older than the date 1623, which is cut over a dormer window on its south front. The interest is much more legitimate which associates it with the cavaliers of Prince Charles's Court, as the quarters of Captain Waverley during his brief sojourn in the capital. It forms the main feature in a small paved quadrangle near the foot of the Canongate. A broad flight of steps leads up to the building, diverging to the right and left from the first landing, and giving access to two singularly picturesque timber porches which overhang the lower story, and form the most prominent features in the view. A steep and narrow alley passes through below one of these, and leads to the north front of the building, which we have selected for our engraving, as an equally characteristic and more novel scene. Owing to the peculiar slope of the ground, the building rises on this side to more than double the height of its south front; and a second tier of windows in the steep roof give it some resemblance to the old Flemish hostels, still occasionally to be met with by the traveller in Belgium. But while the travellers' quarters are thus crowded into the roof, the whole of the ground floor is arched, and fitted up with ample accommodation for his horses,—an arrangement thoroughly in accordance with the Scottish practice in early times. In an act passed in the reign of James I., 1425, for the express encouragement of innkeepers, all travellers stopping at burgh towns are forbid to lodge with their acquaintance or friends, or in any other quarters, but in "the hostillaries," with this exception:—"Gif it be the persones that leadis monie with them in companie,"—*i. e.* Gentlemen attended with a numerous retinue,—"*thai sall have friedome to harberie with their friends; swa that their horse and their meinze be harberied and ludged in the commoun hostillaries.*" Almost immediately adjoining the north front of the White Horse Inn was a large tank or pond for watering horses, from whence the name of the principal gate of the burgh was derived. Here, therefore, was the rendezvous for knights and barons, with their numerous retainers, and the chief scene of the arrival and departure of all travellers of rank and importance during the seventeenth century, contrasting as strangely with the provisions of modern refinement as any relic that survives of the Canongate in these good old times.

The court-yard of the White Horse Inn is completed by an antique tenement towards

¹ Chambers's Traditions, vol. ii. p. 295.



BACK OF THE WHITE HORSE CLOSE.

NEAR THE WATER-GATE.

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the street, which tradition points out as the residence of Bishop Paterson, one of the latest Episcopal dignitaries of the Established Church, and a special subject of scandal to the Covenanters. He was formerly chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale, and was currently reported to have owed his promotion to the favour of the Duchess.¹ A little to the eastward of the White Horse Close, and immediately adjoining the Water Gate, a plain modern land occupies the site of St Thomas's Hospital, founded by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1541, and dedicated to God, the Virgin Mary, and all saints. It consisted of a chapel and almshouse, which were purchased by the Magistrates of Canongate, in the year 1617, from the chaplains and bedesmen, with the consent of David Creichton of Lugtoun, the patron, who probably retained possession of the endowments. Its new patrons converted it into an hospital for the poor of the burgh, and invited the charity of the wealthy burghers of Canongate, by placing the following inscription over the entrance, surmounted with the figures of two cripples, an old man and woman, and the Canongate Arms:—HELPE HERE THE POORE, AS ZE VALD GOD DID ZOV. JUNE 19, 1617. When Maitland wrote, the chapel had been converted into a coach-house, and both it and the hospital were in a very ruinous state; and, in 1778, it was entirely demolished, and its site occupied by private dwellings.²

The Water Gate formed the chief entrance to the burgh of Canongate, and the main approach to the capital previous to the erection of the North Bridge. It is a port of considerable antiquity, being represented as such in the maps of 1544 and 1573; and in the Registers of the Burgh for 1574, the Treasurer is ordered "to bye ane lok and key to the Wattir Yet."³ Through it the Earl of Hertford entered with the army of Henry VIII. in the former year; and, at the same place, the Marquis of Montrose, the Earl of Argyle, and others of less note, were received, on their capture, with all the ignominy that party rancour could devise.⁴ Perhaps, however, the following unauthorised entrance by the same public thoroughfare, in the year 1661, may be considered no less singular than any of which it has been the scene. In the City Records of Edinburgh, after a gift of escheat granted by the Council to the Baron Bailie of Canongate, of all heritable and moveable goods belonging to the witches thereof, a report follows by the Bailie concerning Barbara Mylne, whom Janet Allen, burnt for witchcraft, "did once see come in at the Water Gate in likeness of a catt, and did change her garment under her awin staire, and went

¹ An anonymous letter, addressed to the Bishop by some of his Presbyterian revilers in 1681, is preserved among the collection of original documents in the City Chambers. It supplies a sufficiently minute narrative of his proceedings, both in Edinburgh, and elsewhere; of his escape from an enraged husband, by leaping the Water of Errie, thenceforth called "Paterson's Loup;" of his dealings with "that Jezebel the Dutches;" the Town Guard of Edinburgh, &c., all told in somewhat too plain language for modern ears.

² Maitland, p. 155. Arnot, p. 249. The property of this pious foundation appears to have been alienated long before. We have found, in the Burgh Charter Room, "A disposition of house near the ground of the Holy Cross. John Paterson to Andrew Russell," dated 1628, which runs thus:—"All and hail, that fore buith and dwelling-house, and back vault of the same, lying contiguous thereto; lying in the ground pertaining to the land sometime pertaining to the pair Bedemen of the Hospital, founded beside the Abbey of the Holy Cross, by umquhile George, Bishop of Dunkeld; and under the nether fore stair of the same, with the pertinents, and free ish and entry thereto; which tenement lies within the said Burgh, on the south side of the King's High Street thereof, at the head of the wynd called Bell's Wynd." The name of St Thomas does not occur in the charter of foundation as given by Maitland.

³ Register of the Burgh of the Canongate, 18th Oct. 1574.

⁴ Fountainhall's Hist. Observes, pp. 185-190.

into her house." ¹ Such residenters were not effectually expelled by the gift of escheat, though it is probable their worldly circumstances were thereby left more dependent on their own peculiar resources. We are informed by an intelligent lady, who resided in the Canongate in her younger years, that one Christian Burns, who then dwelt in Strachie's Close, enjoyed the universal reputation of a witch; and on one occasion within her recollection was *scored aboon the breath*,—i. e. had a deep cut made in her forehead, by a neighbouring maltster, whose brewing, as he believed, had been spoiled by her devilish cantrips.

The Water Gate has long since ceased to be a closed port, but the Canongate dues are still collected there on all goods entering the burgh. Its ancient site was marked, till a few years since, by a pointed arch constructed of wood, and surmounted with the Canongate Arms. This ornamental structure having been blown down in 1822, the fishwives of Newhaven and Musselburgh unanimously rebelled, and refused to pay the usual burgal impost levied on their burdens of fish. The warfare was unflinchingly maintained by these amazons for some time, and the Magistrates were at length compelled to restore peace to their gates, by replacing the decorated representative of the more ancient structure. This, however, has again been removed, in consequence of the demolition of an antique fabric on the east side of the gateway; and such is the apathy of the present generation that not even a patriotic fishwife was found to lift her voice against the sacriligious removal of this time-honoured landmark!

A radiated arrangement of the paving in the street, directly opposite to the Water Gate, marks the site of the Girth Cross, the ancient boundary of the Abbey Sanctuary. It appears in the map of 1573, as an ornamental shaft elevated on a flight of steps; and it existed in nearly the same state about 1750, when Maitland wrote his History of Edinburgh. Every vestige of it has since been removed, but the ancient privileges, which it was intended to guard, still survive as a curious memorial of the ecclesiastical founders of the burgh. Within the sacred enclosures that once bounded the Abbey of Holyrood, and at a later period formed the chief residence of the Scottish Court, the happy debtor is safe from the assaults of inexorable creditors, and may dwell at ease in his city of refuge, if he have been fortunate enough to bear off with him the necessary spoils. It is, in truth, an *imperium in imperio*, an ancient royal burgh, with its own courts, and judges, and laws, its claims of watch and ward, and of feudal service during the presence of royalty, the election of peers, or like occasions of state, which every householder is bound to render as a sworn vassal of the Abbey. Endowed with such peculiar privileges and immunities, it is not to be wondered at that its inhabitants regard the ancient capital and its modern rival with equal contempt, looking upon them with much the same feeling as one of the court cavaliers of Charles II. would have regarded some staid old presbyterian burgher, or spruce city gallant in his holiday finery. In truth, it is scarcely conceivable to one who has not taken up his abode within the magic circle, how much of the fashion of our ancestors, described among the things that were, in our allusions to the Cape Club and other convivial assemblies of last century, still survives in undiminished vigour under covert of the Sanctuary's protection.

¹ Law's Memorials, Pref. p. lxxix.

On the south side of the main street, adjoining the outer court-yard of the Palace, a series of pointed arches along the wall of the Sanctuary Court-House indicate the remains of the ancient Gothic porch and gate-house of Holyrood Abbey, beneath whose groined roof the dignitaries of the Church, the nobles attending on the old Scottish Kings, and the beauties of Queen Mary's court, passed and repassed into the Abbey Close. This interesting and highly ornamental portion of the ancient monastic buildings was, in all probability, the work of the good Abbot Ballantyne, who rebuilt the north side of the church in the highly ornate style of his time, about 1490, and erected the chapel of St Ninian, North Leith, and the old stone bridge that led to it, which was demolished in 1789 to make way for the present upper draw-bridge. Adjoining this ancient porch, formerly stood Abbot Ballantyne's "great house or lodging, with the yard thereof, lying beside the port of Holyrood House, on the north side of the street." The groined archway of the fine old porch, with the remains of the good Abbot's lodging, forming, with the exception of the chapel, the most ancient portions of the Abbey Palace that then remained, were recklessly demolished by the hereditary keeper in 1753, in order, it is said, to transfer his apartments from the gate-house to the main building of the Palace. A small and unpretending dwelling, which now occupies part of the site of the Abbot's mansion, may perhaps excite some interest in the minds of certain curious readers as having once been the house of the notorious *Lucky Spence*, celebrated in the verses of Allan Ramsay, in terms somewhat more graphic than poetical.¹ A singular discovery was made about fourteen years since, during the progress of some alterations on this building, which furnishes a vivid illustration of the desperate deeds occasionally practised under the auspices of its former occupant. In breaking out a new window on the ground floor, a cavity was found in the solid wall, containing the skeleton of a child, with some remains of a fine linen cloth in which it had been wrapped. Our authority, a worthy shoemaker, who has occupied the house for the last forty-eight years, was present when this mysterious discovery was made, and described very graphically the amazement and horror of the workman, who threw away his crow-bar, and was with difficulty persuaded to resume his operations.

At the corner of the Horse Wynd, and immediately to the west of the Abbey Court-House, a dilapidated mansion of considerable extent is pointed out traditionally as the residence of the unfortunate Rizzio, though it is an erection of probably a century later than the bloody deed that has given so much interest to the name of the Italian favourite. A curious and exceedingly picturesque court is enclosed by the buildings behind, and bore in earlier times the name of the Chancellor's Court, having probably at some period formed the residence of that eminent official dignitary. It is described in the title deeds as bounded by "the venall leading to the king's stables on the south, and the Horse Wynd on the west parts;" a definition which clearly indicates the site of the royal news to have been on the west side of the Abbey Close. More recent and trust-worthy traditions than those above referred to, point out a large room on the first floor of this house as having been the scene of some interesting proceedings connected with the rehearsal of Home's Douglas, in which the reverend author was assisted by sundry eminent lay and clerical friends. In the cast of the piece furnished by Mr Edward Hislop,—a good authority on

¹ *Lucky Spence's Last Advice*. Ramsay's Poems, 4to, p. 33.

Scottish theatricals,—Principal Robertson, David Hume, Dr Carlyle of Inveresk, and the author, take the leading male parts, while the ladies are represented by Professor Ferguson, and Dr Blair, the eminent divine! Notwithstanding, however, the authority on which this rests, it is probable that the utmost countenance afforded by these divines was their presence at the rehearsal, and the dinner which succeeded it in the Erskine Club, at the Abbey.¹ The old tenement wherein this singular assemblage took place, is now in the course of demolition to make way for a chapel and school founded by the Duchess of Gordon, for the inhabitants of the sanctuary. The antique building to the south, separated from this by the vennel mentioned above, appears from the titles to have been the residence of Francis Lord Napier at the memorable era of the Union Parliament.

The ancient Tennis Court, the frequent scene of the dramatic amusements of the royal occupants of Holyrood, which survives now only in name, immediately without the Water Gate, has been repeatedly referred to in the course of the work.² The game of Tennis, which was a favourite sport throughout Europe during last century, is now almost unknown. Its last most celebrated Scottish players are said to have been James Hepburn, Esq. of Keith, and the famous John Law, of Laurieston, afterwards comptroller-general of the finances in France.³ The whole ground to the eastward of the Tennis Court appears in Edgar's map as open garden ground attached to the Palace, with the exception of the small building known as Queen Mary's Bath; but shortly after Lord Adam Gordon, commander of the forces in Scotland, took up his residence at Holyrood Palace in 1789, he granted permission to several favourite veterans who had served under him abroad, to erect small booths and cottages along the garden wall; and they so effectually availed themselves of the privilege that several of the cottages have since risen to be substantial three and four storied lands. John Keith, a favourite subaltern, obtained at that time the piece of ground immediately adjoining Queen Mary's Bath, and in the course of rearing the large building, which now remains in the possession of his daughters, he had to demolish part of a turret stair-case which led to the roof of the Bath. Here, on removing a portion of the slating, a richly inlaid dagger of antique form, and greatly corroded with rust, was found sticking in the sarking of the roof. It remained for many years in the possession of the veteran owner, and used to hang above the parlour fire-place along with his own sword. His daughter, to whom we owe these particulars, described the ancient weapon "as though it had the king's arms on it, done in gold." It was finally lent to a young friend, to add to his other decorations, preparatory to his figuring in one of the processions during the visit of George IV. to Edinburgh in 1822, and was lost through the carelessness of the borrower. This very curious relic of antiquity has been supposed, with considerable appearance of probability, to have formed one of the weapons of the murderers of Rizzio, who are known to have escaped through this part of the royal gardens.⁴ This curious and exceedingly picturesque lodge of the ancient Palace

¹ Vide Burton's *Life of Hume*, vol. i. p. 420, where it is shown that Dr Robertson was not then principal, nor Dr Ferguson, professor; though this is of little account, if they lived at the time in friendship with Home. Among the company at the Abbey, were Lord Elibank, Lord Milton, Lord Kames and Lord Monboddo.

² Ante, vol. i. p. 103.

³ *Archæol. Scot.* vol. i. p. 508.

⁴ Ante, vol. i. p. 76. We have made this curious discovery the subject of careful investigation, and feel assured that no one who makes the same inquiries at the respectable proprietors of the house will entertain any doubt on the subject.

is well worthy of preservation, and it is to be hoped will meet with due care in any projected improvements in the neighbourhood of Holyrood House. The tradition of its having been used as a bath by the Scottish Queen is of old standing. Pennant tells us seriously that Mary is reported to have used a bath of white wine to exalt her charms, a custom, he adds, strange, but not without precedent.¹ Other no less efficacious means have been assigned as the expedients resorted to by Queen Mary for shielding her beauty against the assaults of time, but the existence of a very fine spring of water immediately underneath the earthen floor might reasonably suggest her use of the pure and limpid element.

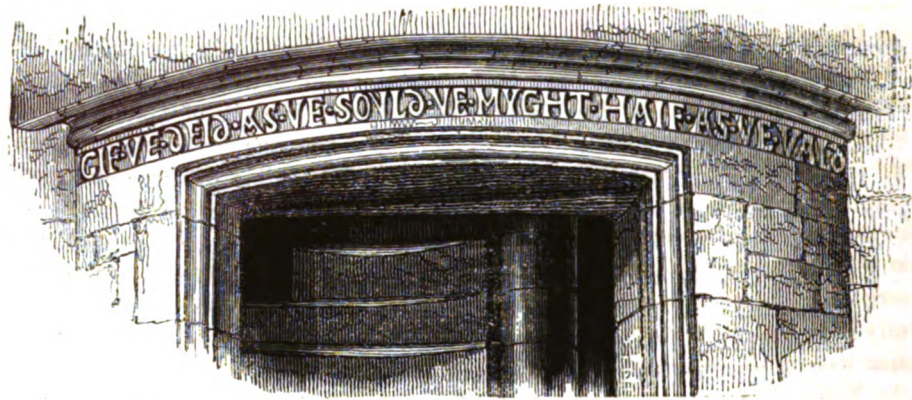
Beyond this lies the district of Abbey Hill, an old-fashioned suburb that has risen up around the outskirts of the Palace, and includes one or two ancient fabrics that have probably formed the residence of the courtiers of Holyrood in days of yore. Here is a narrow lane leading into St Anne's Park, which bears the curious gaelic title of *Croft-an-righ*, or the King's Field; a name that furnishes very intelligible evidence of its former enclosure within the royal demesnes. One ancient tenement near the Palace has the angles of its southern gable flanked with large round turrets, in the castelated style of James VI.'s reign, while the north front is ornamented with dormer windows. This antique fabric answers generally to the description of the mansion purchased by William Graham, Earl of Airth, from the Earl of Linlithgow, at the instigation of his *woofull wyse wyfe*. It is described by him as the house at the back of the Abbey of Holyrood House which sometime belonged to the Lord Elphinstone; and though he adds, "within two years after, or therby, that house took fyre accedintallie, and wes totallie burned, as it standeth now, like everie thing that the unhappie woman, my wyfe, lade hir hand to,"² many of our old Scottish houses have survived such conflagrations, and still remain in good condition.

¹ Pennant's Tour, vol. i. p. 71.

² Minor Antiquities, p. 271.

CHAPTER VIII.

ST LEONARDS, ST MARY'S WYND, AND THE COWGATE.



THE date of erection of the first houses in the ancient thoroughfare of the Cowgate may be referred, without hesitation, to the reign of James III., when the example of the King, who, as Drummond relates, “was much given to buildings, and trimming up of chappels, halls, and gardens,” was likely to encourage his courtiers in rearing elegant and costly mansions; and when, at the same time, the frequent assembling of the Parliament, and the presence of the Court, at Edinburgh, were calculated to drive them beyond the recently built walls of the capital. Evidence, indeed, derived from some early charters, seems to prove the existence of buildings beyond the range of the first wall, prior to its erection, but these were at most one or two isolated and rural dwellings, and cannot be considered as having formed any part of the street.

The whole southern slope of the old town, on which the steep closes extending between the High Street and the Cowgate have since been reared, must then have formed a rough and unencumbered bank, surmounted by the massive wall and towers erected by virtue of the charter of James II. in 1450; and skirted at its base by the open roadway that led from the Abbey of Holyrood to the more ancient Church of St Cuthbert, below the Castle rock. It requires, indeed, a stretch of the imagination to conceive this crowded steep, which has rung for centuries with the busy sounds of life and industry, a rugged slope, unoccupied save by brushwood and flowering shrubs; yet the change effected on it in the fifteenth century was only such another extension as many living can remember to have witnessed on a greater scale over the downs and cultivated fields now occupied by the modern town. To the same period may be referred, with much probability, the erec-

VIGNETTE—Ancient Doorway, foot of Horse Wynd, Cowgate.

tion of houses along the ancient roadway from Leith that skirted the east wall of the town; and probably, also, the founding of the nunnery from whence the southern portion of it derived its name, although Chalmers, seemingly on insufficient evidence, assigns the origin of the latter to "the uncertain piety of the twelfth century."¹ Spottiswoode remarks, "in the chartularies of St Giles, the Nuns of St Mary's Wynd in the City of Edinburgh are recorded. The chapel and convent stood near to the walls of the garden belonging at present to the Marquis of Tweeddale, and from its being consecrated to the Virgin Mary, the street took its name, which it still retains."² A curious allusion to this chapel occurs in the statutes of the burgh of Edinburgh, enacted during the dreadful visitation of the plague in 1530, where Marione Clerk is convicted by an assize of concealing her infection, and of having "past amangis the nychtbouris of this toune to the chapell of Sanct Mary Wynd on Sunday to the mess, and to hir sisteris house and vther placis," the pestilence being upon her, and thereby, as the statute says, doing all that was in her to have infected the whole town. The unhappy woman, convicted of the crime of going to church during her illness, is condemned to be drowned in the Quarell holes, and there can be no doubt that the cruel and barbarous sentence was carried into execution.³ The salary of the chaplain of St Mary's Nunnery was, in 1499, only sixteen shillings and eightpence sterling yearly; and its whole revenues were probably never large, the most of them having apparently been derived from voluntary contributions.⁴ The site of this ancient religious foundation was on the west side of the wynd, where it contracts in breadth, a few yards below the Nether Bow. Of its origin or founders nothing further is known, but it was most probably dismantled and ruined in the Douglas wars, when the houses in St Mary's and Leith Wynds were unroofed and converted into defensive barriers by the beleaguered citizens.⁵

¹ Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 761.

² Spottiswoode's Religious Houses, 1755, p. 283.

³ Acts and Statutes of the Burgh of Edinburgh; Mait. Misc. vol. ii. p. 115. This proceeding is by no means a solitary case. The following, which is of date August 2, 1530, is rendered more noticeable by the reasons for *mercy* that follow:—"The quhilk day foramekle as it wes perfytilie vnderstand and kend that Dauid Duly, tailyour, has haldin his wif seyke in the contagius seiknes of pestilens ij dayis in his house, and wald nocht revele the samyn to the officiaris of the toune quhill scho wes deid in the said seiknes. And in the meyn tyme the said Dauid past to Sanct Gelis Kirk, quhilk was Sunday, and thair said mess amangis the cleyne pepill, his wif beand *in extremis* in the said seiknes, doand quhat was in him till haif infekkit all the toune. For the quhilk causis he was adingit to be hangit on ane gebat befor his awin durr, and that wes gevin for dome."

The following notice of same date proves the execution of this strange sentence on the unfortunate widower, though he happily survived the effects:—"The quhilk day fforamekle as Dauid Duly was decernit this day, befor none, for his demeritis to be hangit on ane gebat befor his dure quhar he duellis, nochtwithstanding *because at the will of God he hes eschapiit, and the raip brokin, and fallin of the gibbat, and is ane pure man with small barnis, and for pete of him, the prouest, ballies, and counsall, bannasis* the said Dauid this toune for all the dais of his lyf, and nocht to cum tharintill in the meyn tyme vnder the pain of deid."—Ibid. pp. 107, 108.

⁴ Arnot, p. 247.

⁵ The following is the reference to the chapel in the titles of the property occupying its site:—"All and hail these two old tenements of land lying together on the west side of St Mary's Wynd, near the head of the same; the one on the south of old pertaining to Robert and Andrew Harts, and the other on the north called Crenzen's Land; and that laigh dwelling-house, entering from St Mary's Wynd, on the west side thereof, in the south part of the tenement, of old called St Mary's Chapel." In the *Inventarium Joacilium Altaris Monasterii Sancte Crucis*, 1493, (Bann. Misc. vol. ii. p. 24.) there is mentioned "vna reliquia argentea pro altari Sancte Katerine cum osse eiusdem, quam fecit dominus Iohannes Crunzanne, quondam Vicarius de Vre." [Aberdeenshire.] It is possible this may have been the chaplain of the nunnery, from whence the neighbouring tenement derived its name. Besides Alterages dedicated to the Virgin, there were in Edin-

The tenement directly opposite to the site of St Mary's Chapel, and forming the south side of the alley leading into Boyd's Close, is curious, as having been the residence of James Norrie, painter, the celebrated decorator during the earlier part of last century, to whom we have already frequently referred. His workshops lay immediately behind, and adjoining to the coach-house of Lord Milton, as appears from the titles of the property. Both of them were afterwards converted into stabling for Boyd's celebrated White Horse Inn. This street then formed the approach to the town by one of the great roads from the south of Scotland; and here, accordingly, were several of the principal inns. At the foot of the wynd was Mr Peter Ramsay's famed establishment, from which he retired with an ample fortune, and withdrew to his estate of Barnton, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, still possessed by his descendants. A large and handsome edifice, with considerable pretensions to architectural ornament, near the foot of the Pleasance, was the Black Bull-Inn, another of these commodious and fashionable establishments, which the erection of the North and South Bridges ruined, by diverting the current of visitors to the capital into a new channel.

Nicoll reports, in 1650, that "the toun demolished the haill houssis in St Marie Wynd, that the enymie sould haif no schelter thair, bot that thai mycht haif frie pas to thair cannon, quhilk thai haid montit upone the Neddir Bow."¹ The earliest date now observable is that of 1680, cut over the doorway of a house about the middle of the wynd on the east side, but one or two other tenements present features of an earlier character. At the foot of the wynd was situated the Cowgate Port, one of the city gates, constructed with the extended wall in 1513; and, at a later period, another was erected across the wynd at its junction with the Pleasance, which was known as St Mary's or the Pleasance Port. This was the frequent scene of exposure of the dismembered limbs of political offenders, as in the case of Garnock and other Covenanters, whose heads were ordered "to be struck off, and set up upon pricks upon the Pleasance Port of Edinburgh."² The old port was demolished on the approach of the rebels in 1715, from the difficulty of maintaining it in case of assault;³ but part of the wall remained, surmounted by one of the iron spikes, until it was demolished in 1837, to make way for the New Heriot's School. This ancient thoroughfare is commended in Ferguson's address to Auld Reekie, as the unfailing resort of threadbare poets, and the like patrons of the Edinburgh rag-fair. It still continues to be the mart for such miscellaneous merchandise, flaunting in the motley colours of cast off finery, and presided over by

"St Mary, broker's guardian saunt."

Beyond St Mary's Port, lay the Nunnery dedicated to Sancta Maria de Placentia. It stood about sixty yards from the south-east angle of the city wall, not far from the foot of Roxburgh Street; but of this ancient religious foundation little more is known than the

burgh and its neighbourhood the Abbey Church of Holyrood, founded in honour of the Holy Cross, the blessed Virgin, and all Saints; Trinity College Church, in honour of the Holy Trinity, the ever blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, &c. The large collegiate Church of St Mary in the Fields; St Mary's Chapel and Nunnery in St Mary's Wynd; St Mary's Chapel, Niddry's Wynd; the Virgin Mary's Chapel, Portsburgh; the Hospital of Our Lady, Leith Wynd; the Chapel and Convent of St Mary de Placentia in the Pleasance; the great Church at Leith, of old styled St Mary's Chapel; and the Collegiate Church of Restalrig, the seal of which—now of very rare occurrence,—bears the figure of the Virgin and Child, under a Gothic canopy.

¹ Nicoll's Diary, p. 24. ² Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 159. ³ Keith's Hist. Spottiswoode Soc. vol. ii. p. 619.

to the most ancient portion of buildings in the Cowgate, at the foot of Todrick's Wynd, is 1574, showing that their erection took place almost immediately after the demolition of the Castle.

This remnant of one of the most important Government Offices of Scotland at that early date, is a curious sample of the heavy and partially castellated edifices of the period. The whole building was probably intended, when completed, to form a quadrangle surrounded on every side by the same substantial walls, well suited for defence against any ordinary assault; while its halls were lighted from the inclosed court. The small windows in this part of the building remain in their original state, being divided by an oaken transom, and the under part closed with a pair of folding shutters. The massive ashlar walls are relieved by ornamental string courses, and surmounted with crow steps of the earliest form, and of elegant proportions. The original entrance, which is on the west side of the projecting turret, has long been closed up, and its sill is now sunk considerably below the level of the paving, owing to the gradual rising of the street, so common in earlier times, and of which we shall hereafter refer to much more surprising proofs. It bears on its lintel the following legend neatly cut in Roman characters:—BE · MERCIFVL · TO · ME · O · GOD · 1574, above which is an ornamental niche, not unlikely to have contained a bust of King James. The internal marks of former magnificence are still more interesting than these external ones, notwithstanding the humble uses to which the buildings have latterly been applied; in particular, some portions of a very fine oak ceiling still remain, wrought in Gothic panneling, and retaining traces of the heraldic blazonry with which it was originally adorned. Two large and handsome windows, above the archway leading to Todrick's Wynd, give light to this once magnificent hall, which is said to have formed the council-room, where the officers of the Mint assembled to assay the metal, and to discuss the general affairs of the establishment. Here was the scene of the splendid banquet given "at the request of the Kingis Majestie and for honour of the toun," to the Danish nobles and ambassadors, who came over in the train of Anne, Queen of James VI., in 1590. The king writes, while absent on his matrimonial expedition, to Sir Alexander Lindsay, whom he soon after created Lord Spynie:—"from the Castell of Croneburgh, quhaire we are drinking and dryuing our in the auld maner," and the entertainment of his guests on his return appears to have shown no wish for a change of fashion in this respect. The banquet was furnished, on Sunday evening, in the great hall at the foot of Todrick's Wynd, which was hung with tapestry, and decorated with flowers for the occasion; and the wine and ale form the chief items in the provision ordered by the council for the noble strangers.¹

In the introductory historical sketch some extracts are given from the very curious

¹ 21st May 1590. "The quhilk day, John Arnott, Provest, Henry Charteris, &c., being convent in the counsell at the request of the Kingis Majestie, and for honour of the Toun; It was thocht and agreit to mak ane honourabill banquet to the Dence Imbassadours, and the famous persouns of thair company, quha arryvet furth of Denmark with the King and Queynis Majesties, and this uppon the Townis charges and expensis, to be maid in Thomas Aitchisoun's, Master of the Cunyle hous lugeing at Todrik's Wynd fute, upon Sonday at evin next to cum; and for the making of the preparatioun and furnessing thairto, hes set down and devyset the ordour following; to wit, that the Thesaurer caus bye and lay in four punsheons wyne; John Borthuik, baxter, to get four bunnis of beir, with four gang of aill, and to furneis breid; Henry Charteris and Roger Macnacht to caus hing the hous with tapestrie, set the buirds, furnia, chandleris and get flowres, &c."—Vide, vol. i. p. 88.

poem by John Bvrel, written on the occasion of Queen Anne's arrival, and entitled, "The Description of the Qveen's Maiesties maist honourable entry into the tovn of Edinbvrgh." The history of the author is unknown, but we have found among the title-deeds of part of the old property at the foot of Todrick's Wynd, a disposition of a house by "John Burrell, goldsmith, yane of the printers in his majestie's cunzie hous," dated 1628, and which, when taken in connexion with the profuse, and very circumstantial minuteness with which the poet dwells on the jewellery that was displayed on that occasion, seems to afford good presumptive evidence of this being the same person. After devoting nine stanzas to such professional details, he sums up the inventory by declaring :—

All precius stains nicht thair be sene,
 Qubilk in the world had ony name,
 Save that quhilk Cleopatra Queene
 Did swallow ore into hir wame !

The poet proceeds thereafter to describe, with equal zest, the golden chains and other ornaments made of the precious metals, and concludes with a patriotic supplication to heaven on behalf of the good town. The goldsmiths connected with the Mint would appear to have possessed lodgings either within the building or in its immediate neighbourhood; and it was no doubt owing to George Heriot's professional avocations that he obtained the great tenement forming the north side of the Mint Court, which was afterwards devised by him as the most suitable place for his benevolent foundation.¹ George Heriot's large messuage or tenement was found by his executors to be waste and ruinous, and altogether unsuited for the purposes of his foundation. The buildings that now occupy its site appear to have been erected exactly a century later than the older portion of the Mint Close. An ornamental sun-dial, which decorates the eastern wing, bears the date 1674; and over the main doorway on the first floor, which is approached, in the old fashion, by an outside stair, the letters C. R. II. are sculptured, surmounting a crown, with the inscription and date, GOD SAVE THE KING, 1675. Here was the lodging of the celebrated Earl of Argyle during his attendance on the Scottish Parliament, after Charles II. had unexpectedly restored him to his father's title, as appears from a curious case reported in Fountainhall's Decisions.² The date is November 22, 1681, only a few days after the Earl had been committed a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, from whence he effected his escape under the disguise of a page, holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter. Towards the close of last century, the mansion on the north side of the court was the residence of the eminent physician, Dr Cullen, while Lord Hailes occupied the more ancient lodging on the south, before he removed to the modern dwelling erected for himself in New Street. The west side of the court was at one time the abode of Lord Belhaven; and Lord Haining, the Countess of Stair, Douglas of Cavers, and other distinguished tenants, occupied this fashionable quarter of the town during the last century.

The main entrance on the first floor of the west side is approached, like that on the south,

¹ In Heriot's will the property is described as "theis my great tenements of landis, &c., lyand on the south side of the King his Highte Streit thairoff, betwixt the Cloise or Wenall callit Grays Clois or Coyne Hous Clois at the east, the Wynd or Wenell callit Todrig's Wynd at the west, and the said Coyne Hous Clois at the south."—Dr Steven's Life of George Heriot, App. p. 27.

² Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 163.

name.¹ This district anciently formed a part of the town of St Leonards, as it is styled in the charter of Charles I. confirming the superiority of it to the magistrates of Edinburgh; and the name of Pleasance, that early superseded its quaint title of Dearenough, and by which the main thoroughfare of this ancient village is still known, preserves a solitary memorial of its long extinct convent. Some singularly primitive erections, which remain on the east side of the street, undoubtedly belong, at the latest, to the early part of the sixteenth century. A plain but very substantial substructure of stone is surmounted by a timber superstructure mainly consisting of a long sloping roof, pierced with irregular windows and loop-holes wherever convenience has suggested an opening; while the whole plan of domestic architecture is evidently the result of a state of society when it was no unusual occurrence for the villager to carry off his straw roof along with him, and leave the enemy to work their will on the deserted walls.²

St John's Hill and the village of Pleasance form a portion of the long ridge which skirts the valley at the base of Salisbury Crags. The whole of this ground appears to have been ecclesiastical property in early times, and appropriated to various religious foundations, all of which were subject to the canons of Holyrood.³ St Leonard's Lane bounded it on the south, separating it on that side from the Borough Moor. At the junction of these lands there stood, in ancient times, a cross, which is understood to have been erected in memory of one Umfraville, a person of distinction, who was slain on the spot in some forgotten contest.⁴ The shaft of the cross had long disappeared, having probably been destroyed at the Reformation; but the base, a large square plinth, with a hollow socket in which it had stood, was only removed in the early part of the present century. On an eminence at the end of the lane stood the chapel and hospital of St Leonard, but not a fragment of either is now left, though the font and holy water stoup remained in Maitland's time, and the enclosed ground was then set apart as a cemetery for self-murderers. The hospital was one of those erected for the reception of strangers, and the maintenance of the poor and infirm, and near to it there was another on the road betwixt Edinburgh and Dalkeith, founded by Robert Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood, for seven poor people. Of these hospitals, which were governed by a superior who bore the title of *Magister*, Spottiswoode enumerates twenty-eight in Scotland at the period of the Reformation.⁵ St Leonard's Chapel was the scene of a traitorous meeting of the Douglasses, held on the 2d of February 1528, to concert the assassination of their sovereign,

¹ Maitland, p. 176. Piacenza, or Placentia, is now the second town in the Duchy of Parma. The Church of S. Maria di Campagna, belongs to the Franciscan Friars. It was made the subject of special privileges by Pope Urban II., owing to his mother being buried there.

² A relic of a remoter era, a copper coin of the Roman Emperor Vespasian, was found in a garden in the Pleasance, and presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1782.—Account of the Society, p. 72.

³ The following names of property in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh occur in the Stent Rolls of Holyrood, 1578-1630:—"The Kirkland of Libertoun, the landis callit Pleasance and Deiranewch, the aikeris callit Biedmannis Croft of Sanct Leonardis gait, the landis of Bonyngtoun, the landis of Pilrig and commoun mvir, the landis of Wareistoun, the landis of Brochtoun, the landis of Coittis, the landis of Saughtonhall and Saughton," &c.—Liber Cartarum, p. cxvii.

⁴ Maitland, p. 276, Umfraville was the name of an old border family of note, whose castle of Harbottle, in the middle marches, passed by marriage into the Talbois family. Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Umfraville, knight of Harbottle, is mentioned by Wood as married, about 1430, to Sir John Constable of Halaham, ancestor of the Viscounts Dunbar.

⁵ Spottiswoode's Religious Houses, p. 291.

James V.¹ They were to enter the palace by a window at the head of the King's bed, which was pointed out by Sir James Hamilton, one of their accomplices, who used to be the King's bed-fellow, according to the homely fashion of the times. The energetic measures which were adopted on the discovery of this plot greatly tended to secure the peace and good government of the capital.

At the foot of the Pleasance was the Cowgate Port, one of the principal gates of the city, which afforded access to the ancient street from whence it derived its name. Alexander Alesse, a canon of St Andrew's, who left Scotland in 1532, to escape the persecution to which he was exposed in consequence of adopting the principles of the early reformers, describes the Cowgate thus:—"Infiniti viculi, qui omnes excelsis sunt ornati ædibus, sicut et Via Vaccarum; in qua habitant patricii et senatores urbis, et in qua sunt principum regni palatia, ubi nihil est humile aut rusticum, sed omnia magnifica." Mean and degraded as this ancient thoroughfare now is, there are not wanting traces of those palmy days when the nobles and senators of the capital had there their palaces, whose magnificence excited the admiration of strangers, though now its name has almost passed into a by-word. A little to the west-ward, beyond a slight but picturesque old fabric which forms the north side of the Cowgate Port, the large old gate-way remains which gave access to the extensive pleasure grounds attached to the Marquis of Tweeddale's residence. In Edgar's map, this garden ground appears rising in a succession of terraces towards the noble residence, and thickly planted in parts with trees; nevertheless, the whole area had been covered at an earlier period with the crowded dwellings of the ancient capital, as appears from Gordon's View of 1647; and now the noble gardens are anew giving place to rude masonry. The Cowgate Chapel occupies one large portion, and manufactories, with meaner buildings, hem it in on nearly every side. Towards the west, at the foot of Gray's Close, is Elphinstone's Court, already described, and beyond it the Mint Court still stands, with its sombre and massive turret of polished ashlar work protruding into the narrow thoroughfare of the Cowgate.

The venerable quadrangle of the Scottish Mint is formed by an irregular assemblage of buildings of various ages and styles, yet most of them still retaining some traces of the important operations once carried on within their walls. The Mint House was on the west side of the Abbey Close at Holyrood Palace, in the earlier part of Queen Mary's reign, as appears from evidence previously quoted. From thence it was removed for greater safety to the new Mint House erected in the Castle in 1559;² and although, during the troubled period that followed soon after, the chief coining operations were carried on at Dalkeith and elsewhere, Sir William Kirkaldy still made use of "the cunzie hous in the Castle of Edinburgh, quilk cunzet the auld cunzie of the Queen."³ No other Mint House was permanently established in Edinburgh until the almost total destruction of the buildings in the Castle during the memorable siege of 1572. The date over the main entrance

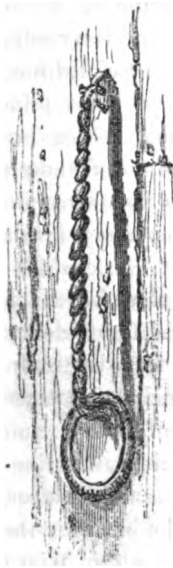
¹ Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 615.

² In the treasurers' accounts, the following entry occurs: February 1562-3:—"Item, allowit to the Comptar, be payment maid be Johne Achesoun, Maister Cwnzeour, to Maister William M'Dowgale, Maister of Werk, for expensis maid be him vpon the bigging of the Cwnze-hous, within the Castell of Edinburgh, and beting of the Cwnze-hous within the Palace of Hallierudhouse, fra the xi day of Februar 1559 zeria, to the 21 of April 1560, £460, 4s. 1d."

³ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 291.

by a broad flight of steps extending into the court. The doorway is furnished with a very substantial iron knocker, of old-fashioned proportions and design; but on the lower entrance, underneath the stair, there remains a fine specimen of the knocker's more ancient predecessor, the Risp, or Tirling Pin, so frequently alluded to in Scottish song, as in the fine old ballad:—

There came a ghost to Margaret's door,
Wi' mony a grievous groan;
And aye he tirl'd at the pin,
But answer made she none.¹



The ancient privilege of sanctuary which pertained to these buildings, as the offices of the Scottish Mint, is curiously illustrated by the case in Lord Fountainhall's Reports, referred to above. A complaint was laid before the Privy Council, November 22, 1681, that a Cabinet of the Earl of Argyle, which had been pointed forth of the "coin-house" of Edinburgh, for a debt owing by the Earl's bond, had been rescued by open violence. In the debate that follows, its full privileges as "an asyle, refuge, and sanctuary, to protect and defend the persons of the servants employed to work there in the service of the King and kingdom," as well as their tools and instruments, are admitted, and the claims of "the abbey, the coin-house, and such other places as pretend to be sanctuaries," are all placed on the same footing, without any final decision as to their rights.

The Archiepiscopal Palace, whose remains still occupy the space between Todrick's and Blackfriars' Wynd, affords a striking example of the revolutions effected by time and changing fashions on the ancient haunts of those most eminent for rank and power. No doubt can be entertained, from the appearance of this building, that a large part of it has been rebuilt in a style more adapted to its present humble denizens than to the period when, in the Cowgate, "were the palaces belonging to the princes of the land, nothing there being humble or rustic, but all magnificent!" Considerable portions of the first edifice, however, still remain. It has originally enclosed a small quadrangle, and nearly the whole of the ground floor is substantially arched with stone, resting on solid piers, well calculated to afford secure protection against such assaults as it was frequently exposed to during the *raids* and *tulzies* of the sixteenth century.² The entrance to the inner-court-yard is by an arched passage in Blackfriars' Wynd, within which a broad flight of steps

¹ These antique precursors of the knocker and bell are still frequently to be met with in the steep turnpikes of the Old Town, notwithstanding the cupidity of antiquarian collectors. The ring is drawn up and down the notched iron rod, and makes a very audible noise within.

² "Feb. 8, 1541-2. —Remission to John Lausone, John Scot, John Myllar, and John Scot, sen., for their treasonable besieging and breaking up the gates and doors of the lodging belonging to James (Archbishop) of Sanctandros, situate in the Blackfriars' Wynd, within the Burgh of Edinburgh, for his capture and apprehension, he being within the said lodging at the time," &c.—Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, p. *257. The Archbishop died in 1539. This was no doubt an Act of Privy Council, applied for thereafter.

conducts to the main floor of the building. By this mode of construction, common in old times, the approach to the quadrangle could be secured against any ordinary attack, and the indwellers might then hold out, as in their castle, until they made terms with their assailants, or were relieved by a superior force.

The ancient building was erected by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, as appears from various allusions to it by early writers.¹ He became Lord High Treasurer in 1505, and was promoted to the Archiepiscopate of Glasgow in 1509, so that we may unhesitatingly assign the date of this erection to the beginning of the sixteenth century. He busied himself, after his translation to this see, in promoting many important erections, and greatly enlarged and beautified the Episcopal Palace of Glasgow. Upon all the buildings erected by him his armorial bearings were conspicuously displayed, and a large stone tablet remained till a few years since over the archway of Blackfriars' Wynd, leading into the inner court, blazoned with the Beaton Arms, supported by two angels in Dalmatic habits, and surmounted by a crest, sufficiently defaced to enable antiquaries to discover in it either a mitre or a cardinal's hat, according as their theory of the original ownership inclined towards the Archbishop, or his more celebrated nephew, the Cardinal.²

The exterior angle of this building, towards the Cowgate, is finished with a hexagonal turret, projecting from a stone pillar which springs from the ground, and forms a singularly picturesque feature in that ancient thoroughfare. We find, however, from the early titles of the property, that the Archbishop's residence and grounds had included not only the buildings between Blackfriars' and Todrick's Wynds, but the whole of the site now occupied by the ancient buildings of the Mint; so that there can be little doubt the Archbishop had extensive gardens attached to his lodgings in the capital. An inspection of the back wall of the Mint, in Todrick's Wynd, confirms the idea of its having succeeded to a more ancient building of considerable architectural pretensions; as, on minute examination, various carved stones will be observed built up among the materials of the rubble work.³

Here the Earl of Arran, and the chief adherents of his faction, were assembled on the 30th of April 1520, engaged in maturing their hastily concerted scheme for seizing the

¹ "Bischope James Beatoun remained still in Edinburgh in his awin ludging, quhilk he biggit in the Friaris Wynd."—Pittscottic's Chronicles, vol. ii. p. 313.

² Nisbet, who is the best of all authorities on such a subject, says:—"With us angels have been frequently made use of as supporters. Cardinal Beaton had his supported by two angels in Dalmatic habits, or, as some say, priestly ones, which are yet to be seen on his lodgings in Blackfriars' Wynd."—Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. part iv. The stone, which is now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., is exceedingly soft and much worn. The crest has most probably been an otter's head, which was that borne by the family. It is certainly neither a mitre nor a cardinal's hat, and indeed the arms are simply those of the family, and not impaled with those of any see, as we might expect them to have been if surmounted with such an official badge.

³ The following is the definition of the property as contained in a deed dated 1639, and preserved in the Burgh Charter Room:—"Disposition of house, John Sharpe, elder, of Houston, advocate, to Mr J. Sharpe, younger, his son. . . . All and hail that great lodging or tenement, back and fore, under and above, biggit and waste, with the yards and pert' some time pertaining to the Archbishop of St Andrew's, thereafter to umq^{le} John Beaton of Capeldraw, thereafter to the heirs of umq^{le} Archibald Stewart and Helen Aitchison, and thereafter pertaining to umq^{le} Thomas Aitchison, his Highness Maister Cunzier, lying within the Burgh of Edinburgh, on ye south of the King's High Street thereof, on ye east side of ye transe thereof, betwixt the close called Gray's Close and ye vennel called Toddrick's Wynd upon ye east, the transe of ye said Blackfriars' Wynd on ye west, the High Street of Cowgate on ye south, the yard of umq^{le} John Barclay, thereafter pertaining to umq^{le} Alex. Hunter, &c., on ye north," &c.

Earl of Angus, and in all probability putting him to death, when Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, the celebrated author of the *Pallis of Honor*, waited on the Archbishop, to entreat his mediation between the rival chiefs. The result of the interview has been related in the earlier part of the work. The Archbishop was already in armour, though under cover of his rochet, and when they met again after the bloody contest of "Cleanse the Causeway," it was in the neighbouring Church of the Blackfriars', where the poet's interference alone prevented the warlike Bishop from being slain in arms at the altar. After living in obscurity for a time, he was promoted to the Metropolitan See of St Andrew's by the interest of the Duke of Albany, and yet, such were the strange vicissitudes of that age, that he is believed to have escaped the vengeance of the Douglasses, during their brief triumph in 1525, by literally exchanging his crozier for a shepherd's crook, and tending a flock of sheep upon Bogrian-knowe, not far from his own Diocesan capital. His venerable lodging in the capital is styled by Maitland, "The Archiepiscopal Palace, belonging to the See of St Andrews." James V. appears to have taken up his abode there on his arrival in Edinburgh in 1528, preparatory to summoning a Parliament; and the Archbishop, who had been one of the most active promoters of his liberation from the Douglass faction, became his entertainer and host. The tradition which assigns the same mansion as the residence of Cardinal Beaton, the nephew of its builder, appears exceedingly probable, from his propinquity to the Archbishop, though no mention is made of him in the titles, unless where he may be referred to by the Episcopal designation common to both.¹

The Palace of the Bishops of Dunkeld, and of Gawin Douglas in particular, the friendly opponent of the Archbishop, stood on the opposite side of the same street, immediately to the west of Robertson's Close, and scarcely an hundred yards from Blackfriars' Wynd.² It appears to have been an extensive mansion, with large gardens attached to it, running back nearly to the Old Town Wall. Among the pious and munificent acts recorded by Mylne³ of Bishop Lauder, the preceptor of James II., who was promoted to the See of Dunkeld in 1452, are the purchasing of a mansion in Edinburgh for himself and successors, and the founding of an altarage in St Giles' Church there to St Martin, to which

¹ The ancient mansion of the Beatons possesses an additional interest, as having been the first scene of operations of the High School of Edinburgh, while a building was erecting for its use, as appears from the following notices in the Burgh Record:—"March 12, 1554.—Caus big the grammer skule, lyand on the eist syd of the Kirk-of-Field Wynd. Jun. 14, 1555.—House at the fute of the Blackfrier Wynd tane to be the grammer scole quhill Witsunday nixt to cum, for xvj li. of male." *Tabula Naufragii*. Motherwell, privately printed. Glas. 1834.

² This site of the Bishop of Dunkeld's lodging was pointed out by Mr R. Chambers in a communication read before the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 7, 1847. The following notice, which occurs in a MS. list of pious donations in the Advocates' Library, of a charter of mortification, dated ult. Jan. 1498, confirms the description:—"A charter by Thos. Cameron, mortifying to a chaplain of St Catharine's altar in St Geiles' Kirk, his tenement in Edinburgh, in the Cowgate, on the south side thereof, betwixt the Bishop of Dunkeld's Land on the east, and Wm. Rappillowes on the west, the common street on the north, and the gait that leads to the Kirk-of-Field [i. e. Infirmary Street] on the south." We have referred, however, in a previous Chapter to the *Clam-shell Turnpike* in the High Street, as bearing the same designation; and the following applies it to a third tenement seemingly on the north side of the same street:—"A charter be Janet Paterson, relict of umq^o Alex. Lowder of Blyth, mortiefieing to a chaplaine in St Gilies Kirk an ann. rent of 4 merks out of Wm. Carkettel's land in Edinburgh on the north side of the street, betwixt the Bishop of Dunkell's land on the east, and the lo/ St Jo. [Lord St John's] land on the west," dated "20 June, Regni 10," probably 1523. Dec. an. reg. Jac. V.

³ *Vite Dunkeldensis Ecclesie Episcoporum*, p. 24.

his successor, Bishop Livingston, became also a contributor.¹ The evidence quoted below renders it probable that the Episcopal residence in the capital, thus permanently attached to the See of Dunkeld, was the lodging on the south side of the Cowgate; and the same ecclesiastical biographer, already referred to, mentions as one of the good works of Bishop Brown, the predecessor of Douglas, that he built the south wing of the house at Edinburgh belonging to the Bishops of Dunkeld.² It cannot be doubted that the mansion thus gifted and enlarged was a building well suited by its magnificence for the abode of the successive dignitaries of the Church who were promoted to that exalted station, and that it formed another striking feature in this street of palaces. Its vicinity both to the Archiepiscopal residence and to the Blackfriars' Church,—the later scene of rescue of Archbishop Beaton by Gawin Douglas,—affords a very satisfactory illustration of one of the most memorable occurrences during the turbulent minority of James V. The poet, after his ineffectual attempt at mediation, retired with grief to his own house, and employed himself in acts of devotion suited to the danger to which his friends were exposed; from thence he rushed out, on learning of the termination of the fray, in time to interpose effectually on behalf of the warlike priest, who had been personally engaged in the contest, and, according to Buchanan, “flew about in armour like a fire-brand of sedition.” This old Episcopal residence has other associations of a very different nature; for we learn from Knox's history that, when he was summoned to appear in the Blackfriars' Church on the 15th of May 1556, and his opponents deserted their intended attack through fear, “the said Johne, the same day of the summondis, tawght in Edinburgh in a greattar audience then ever befor he had done in that toune: The place was the Bischope of Dunkellis, his great loodgeing, whare he continewed in doctrin ten dayis, boyth befor and after nune.”³ A modern land now occupies the site of Bishop Douglas's Palace; and the pleasure grounds wherein the poet was wont to stray, and on which we may suppose him to have exercised his refined taste and luxurious fancy in realising such a “gardyne of plesance” as he describes in the opening stanzas of his *Pallis of Honor*, is now crowded with mean dwellings of the artizan and labourer,—too much engrossed with the cares of their own domestic circle to heed the illustrious memories that linger about these lowly habitations.

The range of buildings extending from the Cowgate Port to the Old High School Wynd, on the south side of the street, still includes several exceedingly picturesque timber-fronted tenements of an early date; but none of them possess those characteristics of former magnificence which are still found in the Mint Close. A finely carved lintel, which surmounted the doorway of one of a similar range of antique tenements to the west of the High School Wynd, has been replaced over the entrance to the modern building, erected on the same

¹ “Charter of mortification by Mr Thos. Lauder, canon in Aberdeen, [the future bishop, as we presume,] to a chaplain in St Geiles Kirk in Edinburgh, of an annual rent of 6 merks out of the tenement of Donald de Keyle on the N. side of the gaitte . . . an annual rent of 40 sh. out of his own house lyand in the Cowgate, betwixt the land of the Abbot of Melros on the east, and of George Cochran on the west,” &c.—23d Jan. 1449; MS. Advoc. Lib. “A mortification made by James [Livingston] Bishop of Dunkeld, to a chaplain of St Martin and Thomas's Altar, in St Geiles Kirk of Edinburgh, of an annual rent of £10 out of his tenement lying in the said burgh, on the north side of the Hie Street,” &c.—Ibid. “Confirmation of a charter granted be Thomas [Lauder] Bishop of Dunkeld, to a chaplain of the Holy Cross Isle, in St Geiles Kirk in Edinburgh,” of divers annual rents, dated 17th March 1480. Ibid.

² Vita Dunkeld. Episc. p. 46.

³ Knox's Works, Woodrow Soc., vol. i. p. 251.

site in 1801. The inscription, of which we furnish a sketch, is boldly cut in an unusual character, and with a shield in the centre, the armorial bearings of which have been replaced by a brewer's barrel, the device of its modern owner and occupant. We have found, on examining ancient charters and title-deeds referring to property in the Cowgate, much greater difficulty in assigning the exact tenements referred to, from the absence of such marked and easily recognisable features as serve for a guide in the High Street and Canon-gate. All such evidence, however, tends to prove that the chief occupants of this ancient thoroughfare were eminent for rank and station, and their dwellings appear to have been chiefly in the front street, showing that, with patrician exclusiveness, traders were forbid to open their booths within its dignified precincts. Another feature no less noticeable, is the



extensive possessions which the Church held within its bounds. An ancient land, for example, which occupied the site of one now standing at the foot of Blair Street, on the west side, is described in the titles of the adjoining property as pertaining to the Altar of St Katharine, in the Kirk-of-Field. In 1494, Walter Bertram, Provost of Edinburgh, bestowed an annual rent from his tenement in the Cowgate "to a chaplain of St Lawrence's Altar, in St Giles' Church." In 1528, Wm. Chapman "mortified to a chaplain in St Giles' Kirk, at Jesus' Altar, in a chapel built by himself," a tenement and piece of ground in the same street, "reserving to ye patrons y^rof 26s. 8d. for repairing the chapel with skletts and glass." Both Walter Chepman and Thomas Cameron have already been named as similar donors. We shall only notice one more from the same source:—"A mortification made be Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, who was before spouse to Archibald Earl of Angus, mortefeing to a chaplain in the Marie Kirk in the Field, beside Edinburgh, her fore land of umq^l Hew Berries tenement, and chamber adjacent y^rto, lying in the Cowgait, on the south side of the street, betwixt Ja. Earl of Buchan's land on the east, and Thos. Tod's on ye west."¹ We have already referred to "the Erle of Maris, now present Regent, lugeing in the Kowgait," in 1572,² and other eminent laymen will presently appear among the residents in this patrician quarter of the town.

The destruction of an ancient tenement in the Cowgate, in the month of June 1787, when clearing the ground for the building of the South Bridge, brought to light some curious memorials of an earlier age. The workmen employed in its demolition discovered a cavity containing a quantity of money, for the reception of which it appeared to have been constructed. The treasure was found, on examination, to consist of a number of small coins of Edward I., commonly called Longshanks, who, in the year 1295, defeated the Scots at Dunbar, and soon after compelled the Castle of Edinburgh to surrender to his overpowering force. Conjecture is vain as to the depositor of this hidden treasure; but

¹ A perfect inventar of Pious Donations. MS. Advocates' Lib.
VOL. II.

² Diurn. of Occurrents, p. 299.
2 c

we may fancy the prowess or cunning of some hardy burgher achieving sudden victory over a stray band of the insolent invaders, and concealing here the hard won spoils for which he never returned. Beyond the arch of the bridge, from whence the busy crowds of the modern city look down on this deserted scene of former magnificence, we again come to antique memorials of other times. Here is a steep and straitened alley ascending towards the southern side of the town, which formed in remote times the avenue to the Collegiate Church of St Mary in the Fields; and at a more recent, though still early, period, the public approach to the Old College of Edinburgh. This ancient avenue possesses interesting associations with successive generations, from the period when Dominicans and Greyfriars, and the priests and choristers of St Mary's College, clamb the steep ascent, down to a time, just gone by, when grave professors and wily practitioners of the law shared among them its *flats* and common stairs.

This ancient thoroughfare formerly bore the name of "The Wynd of the Blessed Virgin Mary in-the-Field," as appears from the charters of property acquired by the town for the establishment of King James's College;¹ and it still retains some relics of this, its ancient ecclesiastical character. About the middle of the wynd, on the east side, a curious and antique edifice retains many of its original features, notwithstanding its transmutation from a *Collegium Sacerdotum*, or prebendal building of the neighbouring collegiate church, to a brewer's granary and a spirit vault. Such, at least, we conceive to have been its original destination. The ground floor has been entirely refaced with hewn stone; but over a large window on the first floor a sculptured lintel is still preserved, which is mentioned by Arnot as having surmounted the gateway into the inner-court. It bears the following inscription cut in beautiful and very early characters:—

Ave Maria, Gratia plena, Dominus tecum.

At the close of the chapter, a sketch of a beautiful, though mutilated, Gothic niche is given, which still remains on the front of the building. It is said to have originally stood over the main gateway above the carved lintel we have described, and without doubt it contained a statue of the Virgin, to whom the wayfarer's supplications were invited. These interesting remains, so characteristic of the obsolete faith and habits of a former age, afford undoubted evidence of the importance of this building in early times, when it formed a part of the extensive collegiate establishment of St Mary-in-the-Fields, founded and endowed apparently by the piety of the wealthy citizens of the capital. To complete the ecclesiastical features of this ancient edifice, a boldly cut shield on the lower crow-step bears the usual monogram of our Saviour, **IHS**—and the windows present the common feature of broken mullions and transoms, with which they have originally been divided. Internally the building presents features of a more recent date, indicating that its earliest lay occupants were worthy neighbours of the aristocratic denizens of the Cowgate. A stucco ceiling in the principal apartment is adorned with a variety of ornaments in the style prevalent in the reign of Charles I., the most prominent among which is the winged

¹ "Shaw's tenement in the Wynd of the Blessed Mary-in-the-Field, now the College Wynd. Item, an instrument of sasine, dated 30th June 1525, of a land built and waste, lying in the Wynd of the Blessed Virgin Mary-in-the-Field, on the west side thereof, &c., in favour of Alex. Schaw, son of Wm. Schaw of Polkemmet."—From Descriptive Inventory of Town's purchases for the College, Burgh Charter Room.

and crowned heart, the well-known crest of the Douglasses of Queensberry; suggesting the likelihood of its having been the town mansion of one of the first Earls, not improbably William Douglas, Viscount Drumlanrig, created Earl of Queensberry by King Charles I. during his visit to Scotland in 1633. The projecting staircase of the adjoining tenement to the south has a curious ogee arched window, evidently of early character, and fitted with the antique oaken transom and folding shutters below. A defaced inscription and date is discoverable over the lintel of the outer doorway, and one of the doors on the stair still possesses the old-fashioned appendage of a tirling pin. Many of the buildings that remain in the wynd are of an early character; and the most recent of them bears the initials of its builders on an ornamental shield sculptured on the lowest crow-step, with the date 1736,—the only specimen of the kind that we have noticed belonging to the eighteenth century.

At the head of the wynd, on the east side, and on ground partly occupied by North College Street, once stood a house which would now have been regarded with peculiar interest as the birth-place of Sir Walter Scott. The elder Mr Scott then lived, according to the simple fashion of our forefathers, on a *flat* of the old tenement, approached from a little court behind by a turnpike stair, the different floors of which sufficed for the accommodation of equally reputable tenants, until its demolition about sixty years since to make way for the projected extension of the College. Here, also, near the top of the wynd, was the residence of the celebrated chemist, Dr Black, and doubtless, many of the learned professors were distributed, with other eminent persons, among the densely peopled *lands* of this classic locality; where, to complete its literary associations, tradition delights to tell that Oliver Goldsmith lodged, while studying medicine at the neighbouring University.

The accompanying engraving represents a portion of the antique range of edifices that extends between the College and the Horse Wynds,—seemingly among the oldest and most picturesque features of the Cowgate that remain. Here again, however, we are baffled in our search after their earlier occupants. The building to the east of St Peter's Close—a venerable alley not likely to tempt any other visitors than those who have chosen their residence within its *sainted* precincts,—is a very substantial stone edifice of a highly ornamental character, which undoubtedly formed the residence of noble proprietors in early times. It appears to be an ancient building, remodelled and enlarged, probably about the close of James VI.'s reign. Three large and elegant dormer windows rise above the roof, the centre one of which is surmounted by an escallop shell, while a second tier of windows of similar form appear behind them, and spring from what we conceive to have been the original stone front of the building. The antique staircase projects forward in a line with the more recent additions, and bears on its lintel the initials of the original proprietors,



as represented in the accompanying wood-cut. On the other side of St Peter's Pend is the singularly picturesque timber-fronted tenement, the curiously carved lintel of which forms the vignette at the head of this chapter. An outside stair, constructed in a recess

formed by the projection of a neighbouring building, leads to a very handsome stone turnpike on the first floor. The fine doorway is finished with very rich mouldings, and encircled with the following inscription, of which the wood-cut furnishes a fac-simile,—a specimen of genuine vernacular which may possibly puzzle some able linguists:—

GIF · VE · DEID · AS · VE · SOVLD · VE · MYCHT · HAIF · AS · VE · VALD ·

Literally rendered into modern English, it is, *If we did as we should, we might have as we would.* There can be no question, from the style and character of this inscription, that the building is of great antiquity, and has probably formed the residence of some eminent ecclesiastic, or a noble of the court of James V. It possesses an interest, however, from a recent and more humble occupant. Here was the printing establishment of Andrew Symson, a worthy successor of Chepman and Myllar, the first Scottish typographers, whose printing presses were worked within a hundred yards of this spot. Symson was a man of great learning and singular virtue, who, though one of the curates ejected at the Revolution, has escaped the detraction to which nearly all his fellow-sufferers were subjected. We have his own authority for stating that he received a University education, and was a *condisciple* of Alexander Earl of Galloway, by whose father he was presented to the parish of Kirkinner, in Wigtonshire. He was an author as well as a printer; and his most elaborate work, a poem of great length, and of much more learned ingenuity than poetic merit, is announced in the preface as issued “from my printing-house at the foot of the Horse Wynd, in the Cowgate, Feb. 16, 1705.” It is entitled *TRIPATRIARCHICON; or the Lives of the Three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, extracted forth of the sacred story, and digested into English verse.* Before this, however, he had acted as amanuensis to the celebrated Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, and in 1699, he edited and published a new edition of Sir George’s work on the Laws and Customs of Scotland, a presentation copy of which still exists in the Advocate’s Library, in good condition. It is elegantly bound in calf, and bears on the boards the following inscription in gilt Roman characters:—*DONUM ANDREÆ SYMSON, A.M. VD. MD.*

The Horse Wynd no doubt derives its name from its being almost the only descent from the southern suburbs by which a horse could safely approach the Cowgate; and as a spacious and pleasant thoroughfare, according to the notions of former times, it was one of the most fashionable districts of the town. About the middle of the wynd, on the west side, an elegant mansion, finished with a pediment in front surmounted with urns, was known in former years as Galloway House, long the residence of Lady Catherine, Countess of Galloway, who formed the subject of one of Hamilton of Bangour’s flattering poetical tributes. She is referred to in a different style in the *Ridotto* of Holyrood House, a satirical, and very free ballad, written about eighty years ago, by three witty ladies, who were wont to bear their part in such gay scenes as it satirises.¹ Lady Galloway is described as

“ A lady well known by her airs,
Who ne’er goes to revel but after her prayers !”

¹ The *Ridotto*, which affords a curious sample of the notions of propriety entertained by the fair wits of last century, was the joint production of Lady Bruce of Kinross, her sister-in-law the wife of J. R. Hepburn, Esq., of Keith and Riccarton, and Miss Jenny Denoon, their niece, who was counted a great wit in her own day. Some of the most interesting stanzas are quoted in the *Traditions*, vol. ii. p. 39.



SYMSON THE PRINTERS HOUSE,
COWGATE.

Published by Hugh Paton Adam Square, Edinburgh.

THE NEW YORK
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ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

She was noted among our precise grandames for her pre-eminent pomp and formality, and would order out her carriage to pay a ceremonious visit to some titled neighbour at the corner of the wynd. Here, too, resided Lord Kennet, Baron Stuart, and other suitable occupants of so aristocratic a quarter. Lord Covington, Lord Minto, and other titled dwellers in the Cowgate and the neighbouring alleys in recent times might be mentioned, but enough has already been said to illustrate the striking revolution that has taken place in this locality within a very brief period.

Nearly opposite the site of the Old Parliament Stairs, a uniform and lofty range of handsome tenements forms the front of an enclosed quadrangle, which includes within its precincts the Tailors' Hall, by far the most stately of all the corporation halls, if we except St Magdalen's Chapel, and one interestingly associated with important national and civic events. A handsome broad archway, considerably ornamented, forms the entrance through the front tenement to the inner quadrangle. This exterior gateway is surmounted by an ornamental tablet, decorated with a huge pair of shears, the insignia of the craft, and bearing the date 1644, with the following elegant distich:—

ALMIGHTIE GOD WHO FOVND
ED BVILT AND CROVND
THIS WORK WITH BLESSINGS
MAK IT TO ABOVND.

This building, as seen from within the quadrangle, has an exceedingly picturesque and imposing effect. Two loftly crow-stept gables project, as uniform wings, into the court, and between them is the deep-browed arch leading from the Cowgate, above which rises a double tier of windows, surmounted by a handsome ornamental gable in the roof. All this, however, is the mere vestibule to the Tailors' Hall, which occupies the south and east sides of the court. Here, again, we find evidence that the craft were wont of old, as now, to extend their professional patronage to the muses. The accompanying vignette represents the Hall as it appeared prior to its receiving the addition of another story, to adapt it for its modern use as a brewer's granary; for, alas, the glory has long since departed from the Tailor Craft in Edinburgh! Over the ornamental pediment which surmounts the east wing of the building, the insignia of the shears is again seen, with the date 1621, and this pious inscription:—GOD . GIVE . THE . BLISING . TO . THE . TAILZER . CRAFT . IN
THE . GOOD . TOVN . OF . EDINBURGH. On the lowest crow-step beside this is cut the professional device of three balls of thread; and over the main entrance is the following elegant and laudable dedication of the Hall and whole Corporation, as the temple and ministers of virtue: No wonder than good citizens were scandalized when the former was diverted from its legitimate use to the profane orgies of the players:—

TO . THE . GLORE . OF . GOD . AND . VERTEWIS . RENOWNE .
THE . CWMPANIE . OF . TAILZEOVES . WITHIN . THIS . GOOD . TOVNE .
FOR . MEITING . OF . THAIR . CRAFT . THIS . HAL . HES . ERECTED .
WITH . TRUST . IN . GODS . GOODNES . TO . BE . BLIST . AND . PROTECTED .

Internally this venerable hall has been so entirely altered that no idea can now be formed of its original appearance. Not long after its erection, it became the scene of very

important movements preparatory to the great civil war. On the 27th February 1638, between two and three hundred ministers met there to prepare for the renewal of the Covenant, which was received with such striking demonstrations of popular sympathy on its presentation to the public, in the Greyfriars' Church, on the following day. We are informed by the Earl of Rothes, who took a prominent share in these proceedings, that he and the Earl of Loudoun were appointed by the nobles to meet with the assembled clergy in the Tailors' Hall, and on that occasion the Commissioners of Presbyteries were first taken aside into a summer-house in the garden, and there dealt with effectually on the necessity of all obstacles to the renewal of the Covenant being withdrawn.¹ The same



means were afterwards successfully resorted to for removing the doubts of all scrupulous brethren.² The garden, which was the scene of these momentous discussions, retained till very recently its early character; but now, divested of its shrubs and formal Dutch parterres, it is degraded into a depository for brewers' barrels. The same Corporation Hall was used in 1656 as the court-house of the Scottish Commissioners appointed by Cromwell for the administration of the forfeited estates.³ We have already referred to the very different purposes to which it was devoted in more recent times, as the refuge of the Scottish drama. Ramsay prints, in the *Tea-Table Miscellany*, "Part of an Epilogue sung after the acting of the ORPHAN and GENTLE SHEPHERD in Tailors' Hall, by a set of young

¹ Lord Rothes' Relation of Proceedings concerning the affairs of the Kirk, p. 72.

² Ibid. p. 79. "Upon Thursday the first of March, Rothes, Lindsay, and Loudoun, and sum of them, went down to Tailours Hall, wher the ministers mett; and becaus sum wer come to toune since Tuysday last who had sum doubts, efter that they who had bein formerlie resolved wer entered to subscriye, the noblemen went with these others to the yaird, and resolved their doubts; so that towards thrie hundred ministers subscribed that night. That day the commissioners of burrowes subscribed also."

³ Nicoll's Diary, p. 180.

VIGNETTE—Tailors' Hall.

Queen Mary, had assigned to this antique fabric the name of "The French Ambassador's Chapel," which we have retained in the accompanying engraving, in the absence of any more distinctive title. An ornamental pediment, which surmounted its western wing, was decorated with the heads of the Twelve Apostles, rudely sculptured along the outer cornice; and on the top a figure was seated astride, with the legs extended on either side of the cornice. It is supposed to have been designed as a representation of our Saviour, but the upper part of the figure had long been broken away. This pediment, as well as the sculptured lintel of the main doorway, and other ornamental portions of the edifice, were removed to Coat's House, and are now built into different parts of the north wing of that old mansion. But the sculpture which surmounted the entrance of this curious building was no less worthy of notice than its singular pediment; for, while the one was adorned with the sacred emblems of the Apostles and the figure of our Saviour, the other exhibited no less mysterious and horrible a guardian than a *Warwolf*. It was, in truth, with its motto, SPERAVI ET INVENI,—no unmeet representative of Bunyan's Wicket Gate, with a hideous monster at the door, enough to frighten poor Mercy into a swoon, and nothing but Christian charity and Apostolic graces within; though the latter, it must be confessed, did not include that of beauty. "I shall end here four-footed beasts," says Nisbet, "only mentioning one of a monstrous form carried with us. Its body is like a wolf, having four feet with long toes, and a tail; it is headed like a man;—called in our books a warwolf *passant*,—and three stars in chief argent; which are also to be seen cut upon a stone above an old entry of a house in the Cowgate in Edinburgh, above the foot of Libberton's Wynd, which belonged formerly to the name of Dickison, which name seems to be from the Dicksons by the stars which they carry."¹ Who the owner of these rare armorial bearings was does not now appear from the titles, but the style of ornament that prevailed on the building renders it exceedingly probable that it formed the residence of some of the eminent ecclesiastical dignitaries with which the Cowgate once abounded. The destruction of the venerable alley, Libberton's Wynd, that formed the chief thoroughfare to the High Street from this part of the Cowgate, involved in its ruin an old tenement situated behind the curious building described above, which possessed peculiar claims to interest as the birth-place of Henry Mackenzie, "The Man of Feeling." It was pointed out by himself as the place of his nativity, at a public meeting which he attended late in life. He resided at a later period, with his own wife and family, in his father's house, on one of the floors of *M'Lellan's Land*, a lofty tenement which forms the last in the range of houses on the north side of the street, where it joins the Grassmarket. This building acquires peculiar interest from the associations we now connect with another of its tenants. Towards the middle of last century, the first floor was occupied by a respectable clergyman's widow, Mrs Syme, a sister of Principal Robertson, who maintained an establishment there for the accommodation of a few boarders in this *genteel and eligible* quarter of the town. At that time Henry Brougham, Esq. of Brougham Hall, arrived in Edinburgh, and took up his quarters under Mrs Syme's roof. He had wandered northward to seek, in change of scene, some alleviation of grief consequent on the death of his betrothed mistress. It chanced,

¹ Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. i. p. 335. The shield, however, so far differs from Nisbet's description, that it bears a *or: scint between two stars in chief*.



FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S CHATEL.

GOVGAIRE, TAKEN IN 1830.

L. Wilson, from a sketch by J. Searsville.

however, that his hostess had a fair and witty daughter, with whom he fell in love, and forgetting his early sorrows, he married her, and spent the remainder of his life in Edinburgh. The young couple continued to reside for some time after their marriage in the old lady's house in the Cowgate; and thereafter removing to No. 19, St Andrew's Square, Henry Brougham, the future Lord Chancellor of England, was born there in the year 1779. The elder Brougham lies buried in Restalrig churchyard.

Almost directly opposite to St Magdalene's Chapel, a large and heavy looking old mansion faces the street, with a broad arched gate-way opening into an enclosed court, and two entrances from the street to the interior of the mansion, each of them surmounted with its appropriate legend. Within, a handsome but wofully dilapidated oaken staircase remains, and the interior exhibits other traces of bye-gone splendour, amid the shreds and tatters of poverty that form the chief tapestry of the old halls of the Cowgate in modern days. This extensive tenement is the mansion built by the celebrated Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate of Charles I., and yet the foremost among those who organized the determined opposition to that monarch's schemes for remodeling the Scottish Church, which led at length to the great civil war. Over one of the door-ways is inscribed—*ТЕСУМ НАБИТА*, 1616, while the lintel of the principal entrance bears this laconic motto, now so much defaced as to be nearly undecypherable:—*AT HOSPEB HVMO*, which proves to be an anagram of the name of its celebrated builder.¹ The philosophy of its old founder's motto seems to acquire a new force in the degradation that has befallen the dwelling-place of the crafty statesman, wherein he schemed the overthrow of the throne and government. In this ancient mansion, in all probability, the bold councils were held that first checked the unfortunate Charles I., and gave confidence to those who were already murmuring against his impolitic measures. Here too we may, with considerable confidence, presume the national covenant to have been drawn up, and the whole scheme of policy matured by which the unhappy monarch found himself foiled alike in the parliament, the assembly, and in the decisive battle of Longmarston-Moor. In the same house Mary, Countess of Mar, daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox, died on the 11th of May, 1644.² Both Bailie's Court,—at one time the residence of Lord Kennet,—and Allison's Close,—which a few years ago was one of the most picturesque alleys in the Cowgate,—are decorated at their entrances with passages selected from the Psalms, a custom that superseded the older mottos towards the latter end of the seventeenth century. Beyond these, however, there still remain several tenements of considerable antiquity and great variety of character; and, in particular, one old timber-fronted land, with the rude unglazed

¹ "If the house near Cowgate-head, north syde that street, was built by Sir Thomas Hope, as is supposed, the inscription upon one of the lintall-stones supports this etymologie, [viz. that the Hopes derive their name from *Houblon* the Hop plant, and not from *Esperance*, the virtue of the mind,]—for the anagram is *At Hospes Humo*, and has all the letters of Thomas Houpe."—Coltness Collections, Maitland Club, p. 16.

² Sir Thomas Hope's Diary, p. 205. The "Extracts from the Countess of Mar's Household Book," by C. K. Sharpe, Esq., contains many very curious local allusions, e. g. :—"Jan. 7, 1639.—Given to the poor at Nidries wynd head, as my Lady cam from the Treasurer deputies, [Lord Carmichael,] 6 sh. Aug. 1641.—Payit to the custome of the Watergate for ten horses that enterit with my La. carryage, 10d. 6 Sept.—To the gardener in ye Abay yard who presentit to my Laidy ane flour, 6 sh. 16 Sept.—Payit for twa torches to lighten on my Laidy to the Court with my Laidy Marquesse of Huntlie, 2½ sh. 1641.—5 Oct' y' day to ye Abay Kirk broad, as my Laidy went to the sermon, 6 sh., &c."

loop-holes, or *shot windows*, which were doubtless the usual substitute with our simple forefathers for the comfortable glazed sash that now admits the morning beams to the meanest dwelling. Gawin Douglas, in his prologue to the seventh book of the "*Æneid*," which contains a description of winter, warned that the "day is dawning" by the whistling of a *sorry gled*, and glancing through

A schot wyndo onschet, a litill on char,
Persavyt the mornyng bla, wan, and bar.

Douglas, at the time he undertook his vigorous translation of Virgil, was Provost of the Collegiate Church of St Giles, and we could hardly wish for more conclusive evidence of the general prevalence of this rude device throughout the Scottish capital during the prosperous era of the reign of James IV., than the very natural and graphic manner in which the keen wintry prospect he espies through his half open shutter is described, and the comfortable picture of his own blazing hearth, where he solaces himself by the resumption of his pleasing task :—

The dew-droppis congelit on stibbill and rynd,
And scharp hailstany mortfundeit of kynd,
Hoppand on the thak and on the causay by :
The schot I closit, and drew inwart in by,
Chyvirrand for cald, the session was so snell,
Schupe with hayt flambe to fleym the freezyng fell.
And as I bownyt me to the fyre me by,
Baith up and down the howe I dyd aspy :
And secand Virgill on ane letttron stand,
To write onone I hynt a pen in hand.

Another of these picturesque tenements is Palfrey's, or the King's Head Inn, a fine antique stone land built about the reign of Charles I. An inner court is enclosed by the buildings behind, and it long remained one of the best frequented inns of old Edinburgh, being situated nearly at the junction of two of the principal approaches to the town from the south and west. From the style and apparent age of the building, however, there can be little question that its original occupants ranked among the old Scottish aristocracy.

In making the excavations necessary for the erection of a handsome suit of additional court-rooms, for the accommodation of the Lords Ordinary, built to the south of the old Parliament Hall, towards the close of 1844, some curious discoveries were made, tending to illustrate the changes that have been effected on the Cowgate during the last four centuries. In the space cleared by the workmen, on the site of the old Parliament stairs, a considerable fragment of the first city wall was laid bare ; a solid and substantial mass of masonry, very different from the hasty superstructure of 1513. On the sloping ground to the south of this, at about fourteen feet below the surface, a range of strong oaken coffins were found lying close together, and containing human remains. In one skull the brain remained so fresh as to show the vermicular form of surface, although the ancient church-yard of St Giles, of which these were doubtless some of the latest occupants, had ceased to be used as a place of sepulture since the grant of the Greyfriars' gardens for that purpose in 1566. The form of these coffins was curious, being quite straight at the sides, but with their lids rising into a ridge in the centre, and altogether closely

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Engr. by William Forrest.

Drawn by Daniel Wilson.

BROWN SQUARE,
FROM THE SOCIETY

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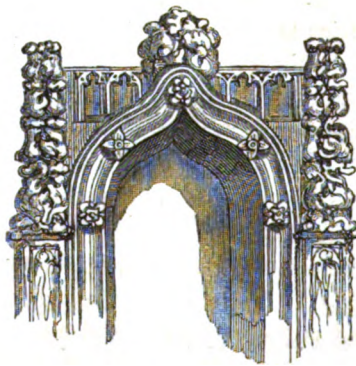
resembling in form the stone coffins of a still earlier era. During the same operations, the workmen found beyond the old city wall, and at a depth of eighteen feet below the level of the present Cowgate, a common shaped barrel, about six feet high, standing upright, imbedded eighteen inches deep in a stratum of blue clay, and with a massive stone beside it. The appearance of the whole suggested the idea that the barrel had been so placed to collect the rain water from the eaves of a neighbouring house, and with a stepping-stone to enable any one to reach its contents. At a little distance from this, to the westward, and about the same depth, a large copper vessel was found, measuring fully eighteen inches in diameter by six inches deep. This interesting relic is now deposited in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, along with some portions of the barrel staves, and there can be no question that both had formed at a very remote period part of the *curta supella* of a citizen of note. The size of the copper vessel is of itself a proof of its owner's wealth, and could only have belonged to some person of distinction. But the most curious inference derived from these discoveries is the evidence they afford of the gradual rising of the street in the course of ages. Some years before a pavement was discovered, about twelve feet below the surface, in digging towards the east end of the Cowgate for a large drain, and here domestic utensils, at a still lower level, prove how gradual, yet unceasing, must have been the progress of this phenomenon common to all ancient cities. From the want of police regulations in the middle ages, refuse and rubbish accumulated on the street, and became trodden down into a firm soil, until even pavements were lost sight of, and the basis of the buildings were adapted to the new level.¹

In the ancient title-deeds of Merchant's Court, already referred to as the mansion of the Earl of Haddington, it is described as "that great lodging, with the yaird, well, closs, and per^{ts} thereof, lying betwixt ye lands pertaining to umq^l Wm. Speed, bailie, and ane certain trance regal, leading to ye Grayfrer's Port, on ye west. The arable land, or croft of the Sisters of ye Nuns of ye Sheyns, on ye south, &c." On a part of this ground lying to the south of the Cowgate, and belonging to the Convent of St Catherine de Sienna, a corporation was established so early as 1598, for the brewing of ale and beer, commodities which have ever since been foremost among the staple productions of Edinburgh. The name *Society*, which still pertains to this part of the town, preserves a record of this ancient company of brewers, and from the same cause, the neighbouring Greyfriars or Bristow Port, is frequently styled Society Port.² Between this and the Cowgate lies the once fashionable district, which a correspondent of the Edinburgh Advertiser in 1764 styles "that very elegant square, called Brown Square," and which he thinks wants nothing to complete its beauty but "an elegant statue of his majesty in the middle!" Such a project might not now seem so extravagant, since the improvers of the neighbourhood have swept away the west side of it, and thrown it open to the great public thoroughfare of

¹ Scotsman, Nov. 16, 1844.

² "The foundation and building of the howsis for all and beir brewing, beayd the Grayfrer Port, callit the Societie, was begun in the yeir of God, 1598."—*Hist of King James the Sext*, p. 374. "Ap. 26, 1598. In ye beginning of yis moneth, the Societie begun to y^r work at the Gray Friar Kirke."—*Birrel's Diary*. A curious fragment of the old town wall remains to the south of Society buildings, and one of them, built upon it, is a singular and unique specimen of early architecture, wrought in ornamental pannels between the windows, and with deep eaves to the roof, somewhat in the style of the old brick and timber fronts, common at Canterbury and other ancient English towns. Adjoining this is a long established tavern, which still bears the quaint name of the *Hole in the Wall*.

George IV. Bridge ; but at that time it was a little square area not so large as many a gentleman's stable yard, with the chief approach to it by a *pend*, or archway from the head of the Candlemaker's Row. Rank and fashion, however, alone resorted to the admired locality, while it was no less worthy of note as a haunt of the muses. Here was the residence of Dr Austin, already referred to, in a house still standing at the north-west corner, and a few doors from this, in the building on the west side through which the arched entry led into Candlemaker Row, dwelt for above twenty years Miss Jeanie Elliot, the author of the beautiful version of the "Flowers o' the Forest," beginning, "I've heard them liltin' at the cwe-milkin'." She was a daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and is described by a contemporary as "a remarkably agreeable old maiden lady, with a prodigious fund of Scottish anecdote." It is added as worthy of record that she was perhaps the only lady of her time in Edinburgh who had her own sedan chair, which was kept in the lobby of her house ! Henry Mackenzie first took up house for himself in the middle tenement, still standing on the south side, while the celebrated Lord Woodhouselee occupied one of those recently demolished. The middle house on the north side, a large and commodious mansion, still retains abundant traces of former grandeur, and chiefly in the large drawing-room on the first floor, which is decorated with a series of landscapes, interspersed with floral groups and other fancy devices, evidently in imitation of the painted chamber at Milton House, though the work of a less skilful artist. This was the residence of Sir Thomas Miller, of Barskimming and Glenlee, Bart., Lord President of the Court of Session, who died there in 1789. He was succeeded in it by his son, Sir William, promoted to the bench under the title of Lord Glenlee, and who, when all other claimants to rank or *gentility* had long deserted every nook of the old town, resisted the fashionable tide of emigration, and retained this as his town mansion till his death in 1846. Indeed such was the attachment of this venerable judge to his old dwelling, that he rejected a handsome offer for the reversion of it, because the proposing purchaser, who designed converting it into a printing office, refused to become bound to preserve the paintings on its walls.



VIGNETTE—Gothic Niche, College Wynd.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WEST BOW AND SUBURBS.



IN the centre of the ancient city there stood, till a few years since, a strange, crooked, steep, and altogether singular and picturesque avenue from the High Street to the low valley on the south, in which the more ancient extensions of the once circumscribed Scottish capital are reared. Scarcely any thing can be conceived more curious and whimsically grotesque than its array of irregular stone gables and timber galleries, that seemed as if jostling one another for room along the steep and narrow thoroughfare; while the busy throng were toiling up or hurrying down its precipitous pathways, amid the ceaseless din of braziers' and tin smiths' hammers, for which it was famed, and the rumbling of wheels accompanied with the vociferous shouts of a host of noisy assistants, as some heavy laden wain creaked and groaned up the steep. The modern visitor who now sees the *Bowhead*, an open area nearly on a

level with the Castle draw-bridge, and then by gradual and easy descent of long flights of stairs, and the more gentle modern slope of Victoria Street, at length reaches *The Bowfoot Wall* in the Grassmarket, will hardly be persuaded that between these two widely different elevations there extended only a few years since a thoroughfare crowded with antique tenements, quaint inscriptions, and still more strange and interesting associations; unmatched in its historic and traditionary memories by any other spot of the curious old capital, whose memories we seek to revive. Here were the Templar Lands, with their antique gables surmounted by the cross that marked them as beyond the reach of civic corporation laws,

VIGNETTE—Major Weir's House.

and with their old-world associations with the knights of St John. Here was the strange old timber-fronted tenement where rank and beauty held their assemblies in the olden time. Here was the provost's lodging where Prince Charles and his elated counsellors were entertained in 1745, and adjoining it there remained till the last a memento of his royal ancestor James the Second's massive wall, and of the old Port or *Bow* whereat the magistrates were wont to present the silver keys, with many a grave and costly ceremonial, to each monarch who entered his Scottish capital in state. Down this steep the confessors of the covenant were hurried to execution. Here too was the old fashioned fore stair over which the amazed and stupified youth, who long after sat on the bench under the title of Lord Monboddo, gazed in dreamy horror as the wretched Porteous was dragged to the scene of his crime, on the night of the 7th September, 1736, and near by stood the booth at which the rioters paused, and with ostentatious deliberation purchased the rope wherewith he was hung at its foot. Nor must we forget, among its most durable memorabilia, the wizards and ghosts who claimed possessions in its mysterious alleys, maintaining their rights in defiance of the *march of intellect*, and only violently ejected at last when their habitations were tumbled about their ears.

This curious zig-zag steep was undoubtedly one of the most ancient streets in the old town, and probably existed as a roadway to the Castle, while Edwin's burgh was comprised in a few mud and straw huts scattered along the higher slope. Enough still remains of it to show how singularly picturesque and varied were the tenements with which it once abounded. At the corner of the Lawnmarket is an antique fabric, reared ere Newton's law of gravitation was dreamt of, and seeming rather like one of the mansions of Laputa, whose builders had discovered the art of constructing houses from the chimney tops downward! A range of slim wooden posts sustains a pile that at every successive story shoots further into the street until it bears some resemblance to an inverted pyramid. It is, nevertheless, a fine example of an old burgher dwelling. The gables and eaves of its north front, which appear in the engraving of the Weigh-house, are richly carved, and the whole forms a remarkably striking specimen, the finest that now remains, of an ancient *timber land*. Next comes a *stone land*, with a handsome polished ashlar front and gabled attics of the time of Charles I. Irregular string courses decorate the walls, and a shield on the lowest crowstep bears the initials of its first proprietors, I. O., I. B., with a curious merchant's mark between. A little lower down, in one of the numerous supplementary recesses that added to the contortions of this strangely crooked thoroughfare, a handsomely sculptured doorway meets the view, now greatly dilapidated and time-worn. Though receding from the adjoining building, it forms part of a stone turnpike that projects considerably beyond the tenement to which it belongs; so numerous were once the crooks of the Bow, where every tenement seemed to take up its own independent standing with perfect indifference to the position of its neighbours. On a curiously formed dormer window which surmounts the stair case, the city motto appears to have been cut, but only the first word now remains legible. Over the doorway below, a large shield in the centre of the lintel bears the Williamson arms, now greatly defaced, with this inscription and date on either side, SOLI . DEO . HONOR . ET . GLORIA . D . W . 1 . 6 . 0 . 4 . The initials are those of David Williamson, a wealthy burgher in the time of James VI. But the old stair once possessed—or was believed to possess—strange pro-

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D. Wilson

J. Steuart

THE WEST BOW
ENTRANCE TO MAJOR WEIR'S HOUSE.

perties, which would seem to imply that these sacred legends were not always effectual in guarding the thresholds over which they were inscribed as charms against the approach of evil. A low vaulted passage immediately adjoining it leads through the tall tenement to a narrow court behind, and a solitary and desolate abode, once the unhallowed dwelling-place of the notorious Major Weir. The wizard had cast his spell over the neighbouring stair, for old citizens who have ceased to tempt such giddy steeps, affirm that those who ascended it of yore felt as if they were going down. We have tried the ascent, and—recommend the sceptical to do the same; happily the old Wizard's spells have defied even an Improvements Commission to raze his haunted dwelling to the ground.¹

No story of witchcraft and necromancy ever left so general and deep-rooted an impression on the popular mind as that of Major Weir; nor was any spot ever more celebrated in the annals of sorcery than the little court at the head of the Bow, where the wizard and his sister dwelt. It appears, however, that he had long lodged in the Cowgate before he took up house for himself, as we learn from that curious old book, *Ravallac Redivivus*, that Mitchell the fanatic assassin, who attempted the life of Archbishop Sharp in 1668, "afterwards came to Edinburgh, where he lived some years in a widow's house, called Mrs Grissald Whitford, who dwelt in the Cowgat, and with whom that dishonour of mankind, Major Weir, was boarded at the same time."² Unfortunately widow Whitford's house is no longer known, as we can scarce doubt that the lodging of such a pair must still be haunted by some awfully significant memorial of their former abode. Whatever was his inducement to remove to his famed dwelling in the West Bow, it was only be-seeming its character as a favourite haunt of the most zealous presbyterians, that one who at that time stood in eminent repute for his sanctity should chose his resting-place in the very midst of "the Bowhead Saints," as the cavalier wits of his time delighted to call them.

The reputation of this prince of Scottish Wizards rests on no obscure allusions in the legends of sorcery and superstition. His history has been recorded by contemporary analysts with all the minuteness of awe-struck credulity and gossiping wonder, and has since been substantiated as an article of the vulgar creed, by numerous supernatural evidences in corroboration of its wildest dittays. Major Weir was the son of a Clydesdale proprietor, and served, according to Professor Sinclair, as a lieutenant in Ireland, against the insurgents of 1641. On his settling in Edinburgh, he entered the town-guard, where he afterwards rose to the rank of Major. According to his contemporary, Master James Frazer, minister at Wardlaw, who saw him at Edinburgh in 1660, "his garb was still a cloak, and somewhat dark, and he never went without his staff. He was a tall black man, and ordinarily looked down to the ground; a grim countenance, and a big nose. At length he became so notourly regarded among the Presbyterian strict sect, that if four met together, be sure Major Weir was one, and at private meetings he prayed to admi-

¹ From some allusions to an apparition that disappeared in a close a little lower down, and which is given further on, from "*Satan's Invisible World Discovered*," it has been frequently affirmed of late, that Major Weir's house was among the tenements demolished in 1836, but popular tradition is supported by legal documentary evidence in fixing on the house described in the text.—Vide, vol. i. p. 167. Much of Sinclair's account of the Major appears to be taken nearly verbatim from a MS. life, in "*Fraser's Providential Passages*," Advocates' Library, dated 1670, the year of his execution.

² *Ravallac Redivivus*, p. 12.

ration, which made many of that stamp court his converse. He never married, but lived in a private lodging with his sister Grizel Weir. Many resorted to his house, to hear him pray, and join with him; but it was observed that he could not officiate in any holy duty without the black staff, or rod, in his hand, and leaning upon it, which made those who heard him pray admire his flood in prayer, his ready extemporary expression, his heavenly gesture; so that he was thought more angel than man, and was termed by some of the holy sisters ordinarily *Angelical Thomas*.¹ This magical black staff was no less marvellous a character than the Major himself. According to veracious tradition, it was no uncommon thing for the neighbours to see it step in and tap at their counters on some errand of its master, or running before him with a lantern as he went out on nocturnal business, and gravely walked down the Lawnmarket behind his mysterious link-boy.

The Major, in fact, had made a compact with the Devil, of which this was part payment, but the foul-fiend, as usual, overreached his dupe. He had engaged, it would seem, to keep him skathless from all dangers but one *burn*. The accidental naming of a Mr Burn by the waiters of the Nether Bow Port, as he visited them in the course of his duty, threw him into a fit of terror that lasted for weeks, and the intervention of a water brook called Liberton Burn, in his way, was sufficient to make him turn back. "A year before he discovered himself, he took a sore sickness, during which he spake to all who visited him like an angel."² He found it, however, impossible longer to withstand the dreadful tortures of conscience, and summoning some of his neighbours to his bedside, he made voluntary confession of crimes, which needed no supernatural accessories to render them more detestable. His confession seemed so incredible, that the magistrates at first refused to take him into custody, but he was at length carried off to prison, and lodged in the Tolbooth along with his sister,—the partner, if not the victim, of one of his crimes. As might have been expected, strange and supernatural appearances accompanied his seizure. The staff was secured by his sister's advice, and carried to prison along with them. A few dollars were also found, wrapped up in some rags, and on the latter being thrown into the fire, they danced in circles about the flames in an unwonted manner, while "another clout, found with some hard thing it, which they threw into the fire likewise, circled and sparkled like gun-powder, and passing from the tunnel of the chimney, it gave a crack like a little cannon, to the amazement of all that were present."³ The money was no less boisterous than its wrappers, and threatened to pull the bailie's house about his ears, who had taken it home with him. On being carried to prison, the Major sunk into a dogged apathy, from which he never afterwards revived, furiously rejecting the ministrations of the clergymen who visited him, and replying only to their urgent exhortations with the despairing exclamation, "Torment me not before the time!" adding, with somewhat more philosophic foresight, according to another annalist, "that now, since he was to go to the Devil he would not anger him."⁴ He was tried April 9, 1670, and confessed himself guilty both of possible and impossible crimes. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the wretched hypocrite was driven desperate by the stings of conscience, and felt some relief in giving the Devil a share of his misdeeds. He was sentenced to be strangled and burnt,

¹ Fraser's Providential Passages. MS. Advocates' Library.

² Satan's Invisible World Discovered, p. 146.

³ Ibid, p. 147.

⁴ Law's Memorials, p. 23.

and he died as he had lived. When bound to the stake, and with the rope about his neck, he was urged to say, "Lord be merciful to me;" but he answered, "Let me alone, I will not; I have lived as a beast, and I must die as a beast." The Rev. Mr Fraser adds:—"His black staff was cast into the fire with him. Whatever incantation was in it, the persons present aver yt it gave rare turnings, and was long a burning, as also himself."

The reverend author of "Satan's Invisible World Discovered" declines, with mysterious assumptions of propriety, to discuss what incantation was in the black staff that *suffered* along with him. Nevertheless, he tells us enough to show it was no ordinary stick. On one of the ministers returning to the Tolbooth to inform Grizel Weir that her brother was burnt, "She believed nothing of it, but, after many attestations, she asked where his staff was? for it seems she knew that his strength and life lay therein. He told her it was burnt with him; whereupon, notwithstanding of her age, she nimbly, and in a furious rage, fell on her knees, uttering words horrible to be remembered." The Major's mother appears to have set the example of witchcraft, as his sister, while in prison, declared, "She was persuaded her mother was a witch; 'for the secretest thing that either I myself, or any of the family could do, when once a mark appeared on her brow, she could tell it them, though done at a distance.' Being demanded what sort of a mark it was? She answered, 'I have some such like mark myself, when I please, on my forehead.' Whereupon she offered to uncover her head for visible satisfaction; the minister refusing to behold it, and forbidding any discovery, was earnestly requested by some spectators to allow the freedom; he yielded. She put back her head-dress, and seeming to frown, there was seen an exact horse-shoe shaped for nails in her wrinkles, terrible enough, I assure you, to the stoutest beholder." This wretched being had unquestionably been driven mad by the cruelty of her brother, and to her ravings may be traced many of the strangest traditions of the West Bow. She described a fiery chariot that came for them, and took her and her brother on unearthly errands, while it remained invisible to others; and confessed to her enchanted wheel, by means of which she could far surpass any ordinary spinner. She was condemned to be hanged, and at the execution conducted herself in the same insane manner, struggling to throw off her clothes, that, as she expressed it, she might die with *all the shame she could*.

There were not lacking, however, credible witnesses to confirm the most extraordinary confessions of Grizel Weir. The Rev. George Sinclair relates, on the authority of a gentlewoman, a substantial merchant's wife, and a near neighbour of the Major, that "some few days before he discovered himself, this gentlewoman coming from the Castlehill, where her husband's neice was lying in of a child, about midnight, perceived about the Bow-head three women in windows, shouting, laughing, and clapping their hands. The gentlewoman went forward, till just at Major Weir's door there arose, as from the street, a woman about the length of two ordinary females, and stepped forward. The gentlewoman, not as yet excessively feared, bid her maid step on, if by the lanthorn they could see what she was; but haste what they could, this long-legged spectre was still before them, moving her body with a vehement cation,—a great unmeasurable laughter. At this rate the two strove for place, till the giantess came to a narrow lane in the Bow, commonly called the Stinking Close, into which she turning, and the gentlewoman looking after her, perceived the close full of flaming torches, and as it had been a great multitude of people,

stentorously laughing, and gaping with tahees of laughter. . . . Though sick with fear, yet she went the next morning with her maid, to view the noted places of her former night's walk, and at the close enquired who lived their? It was answered, Major Weir." It is not to be wondered that Major Weir's house should have been deserted after his death, and that many a strange sound and fearful sight should have testified to the secure hold the powers of darkness had established on this dwelling of their emissaries. The enchanted staff was belived to have returned to its post, and to wait as porter at the door. The hum of the necromantic wheel was heard at the dead of night, and the deserted mansion was sometimes seen blazing with the lights of some eldrich festival, when the Major and his sister were supposed to be entertaining the Prince of Darkness. There were not even wanting those, during the last century, who were affirmed to have seen the Major issue at midnight from the narrow close, mounted on a headless charger, and gallop off in a whirlwind of flame. Time, however, wrought its usual cure. The Major's visits became fewer and less ostentatious, until at length it was only at rare intervals that some midnight reveler, returning homeward through the deserted Bow, was startled by a dark and silent shadow that flitted across his path as he approached the haunted corner. The house is now used as a broker's store, but the only tenant, during well-nigh two centuries, who has had the hardihood to tempt the visions of the night within its walls, was scared by such horrible sights that no one is likely to molest the Major's privacy again. When all these *facts* are considered, it need not excite our wonder that his house should have escaped even the rabid assaults of an improvements commission, that raged so fiercely around the haunted domicile. It may be reasonably questioned, indeed, whether, if workmen were found bold enough to raze it to the ground, it would not be found on the morrow, *in statu quo*, grimly frowning defiance on its baffled assailants!

Such are the associations with one little fragment of the Bow that still exists, our remaining descriptions must be, alas! of things that were, and that appeared so hideous to the refined tastes of our civic reformers, that they have not grudged the cost of £400,000 to have them removed. Directly facing the low archway leading into Major Weir's Close was the Old Assembly Rooms, bearing the date 1602, and described in its ancient title-deeds as "that teneiment of land on the west side of the transe of the Over Bow, betwixt the land of umq^l Lord Ruthven on the north, and the King's auld wall on the south parts." Lord Ruthven's land, which appears in our engraving of the Old Assembly Rooms, was an ancient timber-fronted tenement, similar to those we have described in the Castle-hill. It possessed, however, a peculiar and thrilling interest, if it was—as we conceive from the date of the deed, and the new title of his sons, it must have been,—the mansion of the grim and merciless baron, who stalked into the chamber of Queen Mary on that dire night of the 9th of March 1566, like the ghastly vision of death, and struck home his dagger into the royal favourite, whose murder he afterwards claimed to have chiefly contrived. A curious and valuable relic, apparently of its early proprietor, was discovered on the demolition of this ancient tenement. Between the ceiling and floor in one of the apartments, a large and beautifully chased sword was found concealed, with the scabbard almost completely decayed, and the blade, which is of excellent temper, deeply corroded with rust about half-way towards the hilt. The point of it is broken off, but it still measures 32½ inches long. The maker's name, WILHELM WIRBERG, is inlaid in brass on the blade.

His device,—seemingly a pair of pincers,—is engraved on both sides, surmounted by a coronet, and encircled on the one side with a motto, now partly defaced, and on the other with his name repeated, and the words *in. sol. ingen.* Various other mottos are engraved amid the ornamental work with which the blade is covered, such as, *Vincere aut mori*,—*Fide sed cui vide*,—*Pro aris et focus*,—and *Soli deo gloria*. This singularly curious and interesting relic was procured from the contractors at the time of its discovery, and is now in the possession of our publisher. The manner of its concealment, and the fierce character of the old Lord Ruthven, within whose ancient lodging it was discovered, may readily suggest to the fancy its having formed the instrument of some dark and bloody deed, ere it was consigned to its strange hiding-place.

The character of the old tenement, wherein the assemblies of fashion were held previous to 1720, will be best understood by a reference to our engraving. Over the doorway of the projecting turnpike was inscribed the motto, *IN DOMINO CONFIDO*,—the title of the eleventh Psalm; and above this, within an ornamental pannel, the arms of the Somervilles were sculptured, with the initials P. S., J. W., and the date 1602. These are memorials of Peter Somerville, merchant, and “yin of the present bailies,” in 1624,—a wealthy burgher who possessed houses in different parts of the town, and whose son and heir, Bartholomew Somerville, one of the most liberal contributors towards the establishment of the infant university, has already been referred to in the account of the Lawnmarket. His picturesque old-gabled tenement appears in the same view to which we have referred for his father’s lodging.

All beyond this building lay without the line of the earliest town walls. A piece of their massive masonry remained as a part of its southern gable, and retained, till its demolition, one of the iron hooks on which the ancient gate had hung. Though it must not be overlooked that this portal of the city was retained, like the modern Temple Bar, as the appointed scene of certain civic formularies and long-established state ceremonies, for nearly two centuries after it had been supplanted in its military functions by the West Port. To the west of this was the intricate and singular old mansion of Provost Stewart, where he was believed to have entertained Prince Charles and some of his principal officers in 1745, and to have afforded them hasty exit in a very mysterious fashion, on the approach of a party despatched by General Guest with an urgent invitation for their company in the Castle.¹ The house was one of no mean note, and appears from its titles to have deserved the name of the Mansion House,—such was the succession of civic dignitaries that dwelt within its walls. It is described as “that dwelling-house some time possessed by umq^{le} Bailie George Clerk, merchant; afterwards by the Countess of Southesk; thereafter by Provost John Osborn; thereafter by Provost George Halliburton; and thereafter by the said Provost Archibald Stewart.” Beyond this was an antique timber-fronted tenement, which formed of old the mansion of Napier of Wrychtishousis, and which enjoyed a far more popular reputation, as containing the little booth from whence the rioters of 1736 procured the fatal rope with which Porteous was hung. Many readers will remember a quaint little Dutch manikin, with huge goggle eyes, and a bunch of flax in his hand, who presided over its threshold in latter times. His history was traced for considerably more than a century

¹ Ante, vol. i. p. 113.

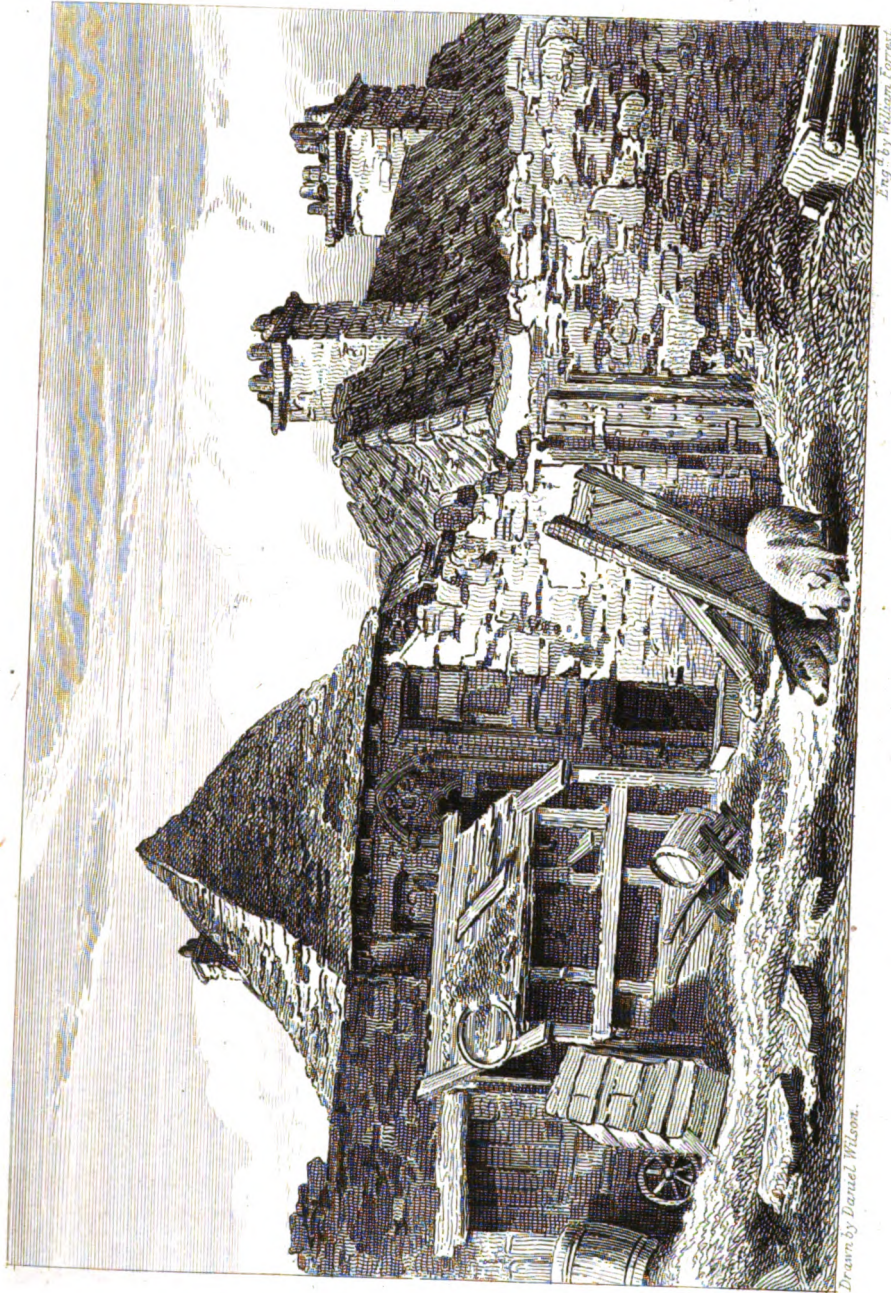
as an industrious burgher. He was imported from Holland, it is believed, near the beginning of last century, and first did duty with spade in hand at a seedsman's door in the Canongate; from thence he passed to a grocer in the High Street, and soon after he made his appearance in the Bow, where his antiquated costume consorted well with the old-fashioned neighbourhood. Since the destruction of this, his last retreat, he has found a fit refuge in the lobby of the Antiquarian Museum. On the opposite side of the street, the last tenement on the east side of the first turning, and situated, as its titles express, "without the place where the old bow stood," was popularly known as the *Clockmaker's land*. It had been occupied in the reign of Charles II. by Paul Romieu,¹ an ingenious *knock-maker*, who is believed to have been one of the French refugees, compelled to forsake his native land on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1675, as appears from the records of the Corporation of Hammermen, a watch was, for the first time, added to the knockmaker's essay, previous to which date it is probable that watches were entirely imported. There remained on the front of this ancient tenement, till its demolition, some portions of a curious piece of mechanism which had formed the sign of its ingenious tenant. This was a gilt ball representing the moon, originally made to revolve by clockwork, and which enjoyed to the last a share of the admiration bestowed on the wonders of the Bow. Other and more curious erections than those we have described had occupied the ground along this steep descent at a still earlier period, when the secular clergy shared with the Templars the dwellings in the Bow. In the "Inventar of Pious Donations," to which we have already frequently referred, a charter is recorded, bearing date February 15, 1541, whereby "Sir Thomas Ewing mortifies to a chaplain in St Giles Kirk, an annual rent of twenty-six shillings out of Henry Spittal's land, at the Upper Bow, on the east side of ye transe yrof, betwixt Bartil Kairn's land on the south, *St James Altar land* on the north, and the King's Street on the west." Below *the Clockmaker's land*, the tortuous thoroughfare turned suddenly at an acute angle, and presented along its devious steep a strange assemblage of fantastic timber and stone gables; several of them being among those strange relics of a forgotten order of things, the *Temple lands*, and one of them, with its timber ceilings curiously adorned with paintings² in the style already described in the Guise Palace, bearing the quaint legend over its antique lintel, in ornamental characters of a very early date:—

HE · YT · THOLIS · OVERCVMMIS.

Behind these lay several steep, narrow, and gloomy closes, containing the most singular groups of huge, irregular, and diversified tenements that could well be conceived. Here a crazy stunted little timber dwelling, black with age, and beyond it a pile of masonry rising story above story from some murky profound beyond, that left its chimneys scarcely rivaling those of its dwarfish neighbour after climbing thus far from their foundation in the depths below. One of these, which we have engraved under the name of "*The Haunted Close*," is the same in which the worthy gentlewoman, the neighbour of Major Weir, beheld the spectral giantess vanish in a blaze of fire, as she returned down the West Bow at

¹ Minor Antiquities. Information derived fifty years ago (1833) from a man who was then eighty years of age.

² Some curious fragments of this ceiling are now in the collection of C. K. Sharpe, Esq.



THE HAUNTED CLOSE,
WEST BOW.

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the witching hour of night. The close, for all its wretched degradation, which had won for it the savoury title it retained to the last, still preserved some remains of ancient grandeur, as appears in our view, where an ornamental building is introduced, which had probably formed the summer house of some neighbouring patrician's pleasure-grounds ere the locality acquired its unenviable distinction. The inventory of the tenants who were at length ejected by the inexorable commissioners, forms, we think, as strange a medley as ever congregated together in one locality. It is thus described:—"All and hail these laigh houses lying in the said West Bow, in that close commonly called *the Stinking Close of Edinburgh*, some time possessed, the one thereof by John Edward, cobbler; another by Widow Mitchell; another by John Park, ballad crier; another by Christian Glass, egg-wife; another by Duncan M'Lachlan, waterman; and another by Alexander Anderson, bluegown; . . . and which shops, cellars, &c., are part of that tenement acquired by Sir William Menzies of Gladstones, 29th April 1696."

Beyond the singular group of buildings thus huddled together, the Bow turned abruptly to the south, completing the Z like form of the ancient thoroughfare. Here again, and scattered among the antique tenements that surround the area of the Grassmarket, we find the gables and bartizans surmounted with the stone or iron cross that marks the privileged *Templar lands*. These powerful soldier-priests possessed at one time lands in every county, and nearly in every parish, of Scotland; and wherever they permitted houses to be erected thereon, they were required to bear the badge of their order, and to submit to the jurisdiction of no local court but that of their spiritual lords. When their possessions passed into secular hands at the Reformation, they still retained their peculiar privileges and burdens, and their exemption from the exclusive burghal restrictions was long a subject of heart-burning and discontent to the chartered corporations and the magistrates of Edinburgh. The Earl of Haddington is still Lord Superior of the Temple lands, and his representative used to hold Baron's Courts in them occasionally, until this *imperium in imperio* was abolished by the act of 1746, which extinguished the ancient privileges of pit and gallows, and swept away a host of independent baronies all over the kingdom. We cannot leave the West Bow, however, once the principal entry into the town, without glancing at the magnificent pageants which it witnessed through successive centuries. Up this steep and narrow way have ridden James IV. and V., his Queen, Mary of Guise, and their fair and ill-fated daughter Queen Mary. Here, too, the latter rode in no joyous ceremonial, with Bothwell at her side, and his rude border spearmen closing around her; though they had thrown away their weapons as they approached the capital, that the ravished Queen might appear to her subjects as the arbiter of her own fate. To those who read aright the history of this calumniated and cruelly wronged Queen, few incidents in her life are more touching than when she rode up the Bow on this occasion, and turning her horse's head, was about to proceed towards her own Palace of Holyrood. It is the very culminating point of her existence; but the die was already cast. Bothwell, who had assumed for the occasion the air of an obsequious courtier, now seized her horse's bridle, and she entered the Castle a captive, and in his power. By the same street her son, James VI., and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, made their ceremonious entries to the capital; and in like manner, Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, and James VII., while Duke of York, accompanied by his Queen, and daughter, afterwards Queen Anne.

Such are a few of the great names associated with the ancient thoroughfare which we have seen so recklessly destroyed, and which, until its sudden doom was pronounced, seemed like a hale and vigorous octogenarian, that had defied the tooth of time while all around was being transmuted by his touch.

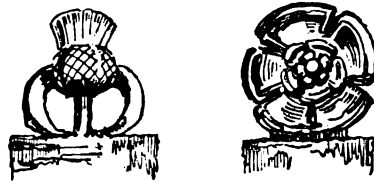
On the lowest part of the declivity of the Bow, a handsome, though somewhat heavy conduit, erected by Robert Milne in 1681, bears the name of the Bow-foot Well. Directly facing this, at the south-west angle of the Grassmarket, there stood of old the Monastery of the Franciscans or Grayfriars, founded by James I., for the encouragement of learning. In obedience to an application from that monarch, the Vicar-General of the Order at Cologne sent over to Scotland some of the brethren, under the guidance of Cornelius of Zurich, a schollar of great reputation; but such was the magnificence of the monastic buildings prepared for them that it required the persuasive influence of the Archbishop of St Andrew's to induce Cornelius to accept the office of Prior. That the monastery was a sumptuous foundation, according to the times, is proved by its being assigned for the temporary abode of the Princess, Mary of Guelders, who immediately after her arrival at Leith, in June 1449, proceeded on horseback, behind the Count de Vere, to her lodging in the Convent of the Greyfriars in Edinburgh, and there she was visited by her royal lover, James II., on the following day.¹ A few years later it afforded an asylum to Henry VI. of England, when he fled to Scotland, accompanied by his heroic Queen, Margaret, and their son, Prince Edward, after the fatal battle of Towton. That a church would form a prominent feature of this royal foundation can hardly be doubted, and we are inclined to infer that the existence both of it, and of a churchyard attached to it, long before Queen Mary's grant of the gardens of the monastery for the latter purpose, is implied in such allusions as the following in the Diurnal of Occurrents, July 7, 1571. "The haill merchandis, craftismen, and personis remanand within Edinburgh, maid thair moustaris in the *Gray Frear Kirk yaird*;" and, again, where Birrel in his Diary, April 26, 1598, refers to the "work at the *Gray Friar Kirke*," although the date of erection of the more modern church is only 1613. The exact site of these monastic buildings is proved from the titles of the two large stone tenements which present their picturesque and antique gables to the street, immediately to the west of the entrance from the Cowgate. The western tenement is described as "lying within the burgh of Edinburgh, at the place called the Grayfreres," while the other is styled "that Temple tenement of land, lying at the head of the Cowgate, near the Cunzie nook, beside the Minor, or Greyfriars, on the east, and the common King's High Street, on the north parts." Beyond this, in the Candlemaker Row, a curious little timber fronted tenement appears, with its gable surmounted with the antique crowsteps we have described on the Mint buildings and elsewhere; an open gallery projects in front, and rude little shot windows admit the light to the decayed and gloomy chambers within. This, we presume, to be the *Cunzie nook* referred to above, a place where the Mint had no doubt been established at some early period, possibly during some of the strange proceedings in the Regency of Mary of Guize,²

¹ "Caledonia, vol. i. p. 599.

² "Vpoun the 21 day of Julij, [1559.] James, commendatere of Sanctandrois, and Alexander, erle of Glencarne, with thair assistaris callit the congregatioun, past from Edinburgh to Halyrudhous, and thair tuik and intronettit with the irnis of the cunzehous, and brocht the same to the said burgh of Edinburgh, to the priour of Sanctandrois lugein g,

when the Lords of the Congregation "past to Halyrudhous, and tuik and intromettit with the irlis of the cunzehous."

The general aspect of the Grassmarket appears to have suffered little change for above two hundred years. One of the most modern erections on its southern side is that immediately to the west of the Templar Lands we have just described, which bears on a tablet over the entrance to Hunter's Close, ANNO . DOM . MDCLXXI . It is not likely to be soon lost sight of that from a dyer's pole in front of this old tenement Captain Porteous was hung by his Lynch-law judges A . D . 1736. The long range of buildings that extend beyond this present as singular and varied a group of antique tenements as either artist or antiquary could desire. Finials of curious and grotesque shapes surmount the crow-stepped gables, and every variety of form and elevation diversifies the sky line of their roofs and chimneys; while behind the noble pile of Heriot's Hospital towers above them as a counter-part to the old Castle that rises majestically over the north side of the same area.¹ Many antique features are yet discernible here. Several of the older houses are built with barti-



zoned roofs and ornamental copings, designed to afford their inmates an uninterrupted view of the magnificent pageants that were wont of old to defile through the wide area below, or of the gloomy tragedies that were so frequently enacted there between the Restoration and the Revolution. One of these, which stands immediately to the west of Heriot's Bridge, exhibits a very perfect specimen of the antique style of window already frequently referred to. The folding shutters and transom of oak remain entire below, and the glass in the upper part is set in an ornamental pattern of lead. Still finer, though less perfect, specimens of the same early fashion, remain in a tenement on the north

being thairin." Diurn. of Occ. p. 269. Humble as this *nook* appears, it is possible that it may be a fragment of the Regent Murray's lodging.

¹ The careful and elaborate history of Heriot's Hospital, by Dr Steven, renders further investigation of its memorials unnecessary. Tradition assigns to Inigo Jones the merit of having furnished the beautiful design for the Hospital, which is well worthy of his genius. If so, however, it has been carried out in a modified form, under the direction of more modern architects. The following entry occurs in the Hospital Records for 1675. "May 3.—There is a necessity that the steeple of the Hospital be finished, and a top put thereupon. Ro. Miln, Master Mason, to think on a drawing thereof, against the next council meeting." The master mason does not appear to have thought to good purpose, as we find recorded the following year:—"July 10.—Deacon Sandilans to put a roof and top to the Hospital's steeple, according to the draught condescended upon be Sir William Bruce." In one of Captain Slezzer's very accurate general views of Edinburgh, published towards the close of the 17th century, Heriot's Hospital is introduced as it then appeared, with the plain square tower over the gateway, and near to it the Old Greyfriars Church, with the tower at the west end, as it stood previous to 1718, when the latter was accidentally blown up by gunpowder, which had been deposited there for safety. A view of the Hospital, by Gordon of Rothiemay, which was engraved in Holland, before 1650, is believed to afford an accurate representation of the original design. The same is engraved in the fourth edition of Slezzer's views, under the name of *Bogengicht*. In this view, the tower is surmounted by a lofty and beautiful spire, carrying out the idea of contrast in form and elevation which appears in the rest of the design, much more effectively than the dome which has been substituted for it. The large towers at the angles of the building appear in this view covered with ogee roofs, in more questionable taste. Several entries in the Hospital Records seem to imply that two of the four towers had been completed according to this idea, and afterwards altered. The Records afford evidence of frequent deviations from the original design being sanctioned, even after such parts of the building were finished according to the plan.

side, bearing the date 1634. It forms the front building at the entrance to Plainstane's Close,—a distinctive title, implying its former respectability as a paved alley. A handsome projecting turnpike stair bears over its entrance the common inscription, BLISSET . BE . GOD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTIS .¹ with the initials, I. L., G. K.; and the windows above retain the old oaken mullions and transoms richly carved in a variety of patterns. Another antique tenement to the east of this is finished with a bartizan and ornamental parapet, on the centre of which the badge of its ancient subjection to the Templar Knights appears like a dagger struck into the roof, and left to serve as a memento of strife in more peaceful times. The assignment of this locality as the appointed place for a weekly market, dates from the year 1477, when James III. appointed “all ald graith and ger to be usit and sald in the Friday Market before the Gray-Frers; also all qwyck bestis, ky, oxon, not to be brought in the town, bot under the wall fer west at oure stable.”²

The town wall extended on the west from the Castle across the area of the market on the site now occupied by the Corn-Exchange; and here stood the ancient gate of the city from whence the neighbouring suburb derived its name of the West Port. Like the other gates of the city, it was usually garnished with a few heads and dismembered limbs of malefactors and political offenders; and so essential were these appendages considered that Fountainhall, after recording the execution of three Covenanters in the Grassmarket in the year 1681, adds:—“About eight dayes before this they had stollen away two of the heads which stood on the West Port of Edinburgh; the criminal lords, to supply that want, ordained two of thir criminall's heads to be struck off, and to be affixed in ther place.”³ Here also was the scene of some of those quaint ceremonials wherewith our ancestors were wont to testify their loyal gratulations at the Sovereign's approach. James VI. was appropriately received at the gate by King Solomon on his first entry to the capital in 1579; and here, in 1590, his Queen, Anne of Denmark, was welcomed in a Latin oration, and received the silver keys of the city in the accustomed manner, from the hands of an angel who descended in a globe from the battlements of the Port.⁴ King James was again welcomed in still more costly fashion at the same spot, on his return to his native city in 1617; and the *Nymph Edina* waited there for his son, Charles I., in 1633, attended by beautiful damsels, and, with a brief congratulatory oration, presented the keys, leaving, however, the burden of the welcome to the *Lady Caledonia*, who lay in wait for him at the corner of the Bow, and, in “a copious speech,” prepared by Drummond of Hawthornden in his most bombastic vein, congratulated his Majesty on his safe arrival.

The most interesting features of the burgh of Western Portsburgh have already been described in a previous chapter.⁵ Many of the old buildings of its main street have been replaced of late years by the plain unpretending erections of modern times. It still, however, has at least one venerable edifice of a picturesque character erected in the reign of Queen Mary by John Lowrie,⁶ a substantial burgher, and, as it would seem, a zealous adherent of the ancient faith in those ticklish times. So, at least, we infer from the sculptured lintel of its ancient doorway, which bears, in large characters, this abbreviation of the common motto,—SOLI DEO · H · G · with the date 1565; and in the centre, between

¹ The same inscription occurs, with the date 1637, over a neighbouring tenement at the foot of the Castle Wynd.

² Charter of James III.; Maitland, pp. 8, 9.

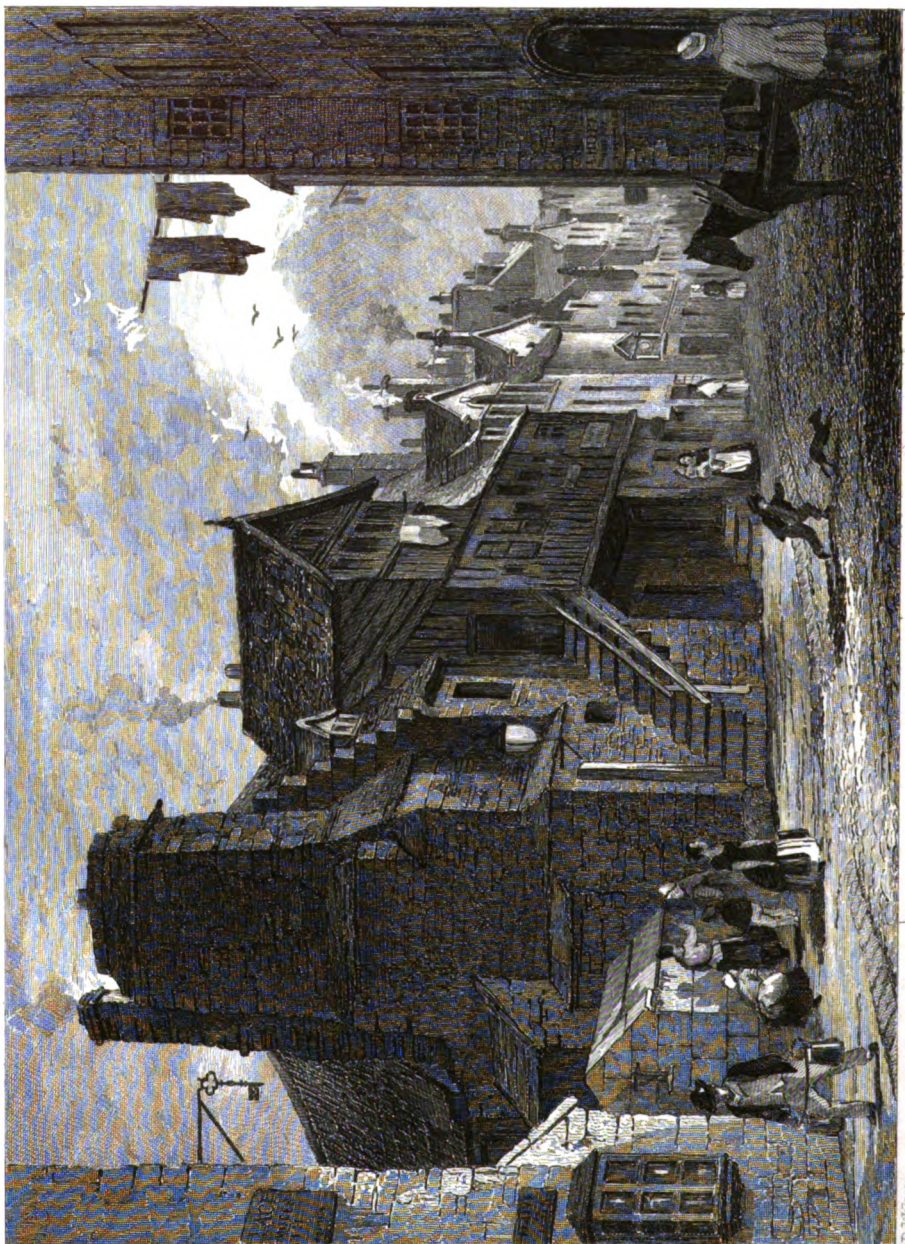
³ Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 30.

⁴ Ante, vol. i. pp. 85—87.

⁵ Ante, vol. i. pp. 135—137.

⁶ Traditions, vol. i. p. 304.

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POTTER ROW

the builder's initials, a large ornamental shield bears the device of a pot full of lilies, one of the most common emblems of the Virgin Mary. John Lowrie's initials are repeated in ornamental characters on the eastern crow-step, separated by what appears to be designed for a baker's peel, and probably indicating that its owner belonged to the ancient fraternity of baxters. The burgh of Easter Portsburgh, which is associated with its western neighbour under the same baron bailie, comprehends the Potterrow and adjoining district of Bristo, and includes several buildings of considerable interest, though not of great antiquity. One edifice, however, which appears in our view of the Potterrow, was a singular specimen of the ancient *timber lands*, and differed in character from any example of that style of building that now remains. It bore the distinctive title of the *Mahogany Land*, an epithet popularly applied to the most ornamental timber erections in different parts of the town, and had undoubtedly existed at the time when the Collegiate Church of St Mary stood in the neighbouring fields. Directly opposite to its site is a lofty building, erected, as appears from its title-deeds, in 1715, and which, we are informed by its proprietor, formed the lodging of the Earl of Morton. It has evidently been a mansion of some importance. A broad and handsome archway leads into an enclosed court behind, where there is cut, in unusually large letters, the inscription,—BLISET . BE . GOD . FOR . AL . HIS . GIFTS.—and a monogram, now undecypherable. Robert, twelfth Earl of Morton, succeeded to the title the same year in which the house was built, and was again succeeded by his brother George, appointed Vice-Admiral of Scotland in 1733. He died at Edinburgh in 1738, and was buried in the Greyfriars' Church-yard. Other associations, however, far surpassing those of mere rank and ancient lineage, will make this locality long be regarded as a peculiarly interesting nook of the Scottish metropolis. Nearly at the point of junction of the Potterrow with Bristo Street,—once one of the two great thoroughfares from the south,—there is a little, irregular, and desolate-looking court of antique buildings, bearing the name of General's Entry. The south and east sides of this little quadrangle are formed by a highly decorated range of buildings. The crow-stepped gable at the south-east angle is surmounted by a curious old sun-dial, bearing the quaint punning moral, *We shall die all*; and beyond this, a series of sculptured dormer windows appear, in the highly decorated style of the seventeenth century. On one of the sculptured pediments is a shield, bearing the unusual heraldic device of a monkey, with three stars in chief. It is surrounded by a border of rich Elizabethan scroll work in high relief; and beyond this, the initials J. D. The adjoining window bears, as its principal ornament, an ingenious monogram, formed of large ornamental Roman characters. The tradition is one of old standing, which assigns this mansion as the residence of General Monk, during his command in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell. This is usually referred to as the origin of the present name of the locality; nor is the tradition altogether without some appearance of probability in support of it. The house, we believe, was erected by Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards Viscount Stair, justly regarded as the most eminent Judge who ever presided on the Scottish Bench. He is well known to have been a special favourite of General Monk, who frequently consulted him on matters of state, and recommended him to Cromwell in 1657, as the fittest person to be appointed a Judge. Under these circumstances it may be inferred, with little hesitation, that Monk was a frequent visitor, if not a constant guest, at General's Entry, when he came into the capital from his head-quarters

at Dalkeith Palace. The old mansion continued to be the town residence of the noble family of Stair, until, like the rest of the Scottish Peers, they deserted their native capital soon after the abolition of our national Parliament by the Act of Union. It is not unlikely that the present name of the old court is derived from the more recent residence there of John, second Earl of Stair, who served during the protracted campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General soon after the bloody victory of Malplaquet. He shared in the fall of the Great Duke, and retired from Court until the accession of George I., during which interval it is probable that the family mansion in the Potterrow formed the frequent abode of the disgraced favourite.

Degradation and decay had long settled down on the old aristocratic haunt when Clarinda wrote from the same place in 1788, in anticipation of a visit from the Poet Burns, "I hope you'll *come a-foot*, even though you take a chair home. A chair is so uncommon a thing in our neighbourhood, it is apt to raise speculation—but they are all asleep by ten."¹ The first interview between Mrs M'Lehose, the romantic Clarinda, and her Sylvander, took place at the house of Miss Nimmo, a mutual friend, who resided in Alison Square, Potterrow; an equally humble locality, and within a few paces of General's Entry, but which derives a still deeper interest from having been the place where the youthful poet Thomas Campbell lived during his stay in Edinburgh, while engaged in the composition of his *Pleasures of Hope*. To appreciate the later associations of these scenes of poetic inspiration and intellectual pleasures, the reader should rise from the perusal of the ardent and romantic correspondence of *Clarinda and Sylvander*, and proceed to visit the dusky little parlour on the first floor of the crasy tenement in the Potterrow, where the poet was welcomed by the enthusiastic Clarinda. It is on the north side of General's Entry, and approached by a narrow turn-pike stair, where the whole accommodations of Mrs M'Lehose consisted of a kitchen, bed-room, and the straitened parlour wherein she received the visits of the poet. Here this young and beautiful woman resided with her infant children, and struggled against the pinching cares of poverty, and the worse sorrows created by an acutely sensitive mind. The emigration, however, of the gentry of the old town to the more fashionable dwellings beyond the north Loch had been very partially effected in 1788, and the contrast between the little parlour in General's Entry, and the drawing-rooms of the Poet's wealthier hosts, was by no means so marked and striking as it afterwards became. Such are the strangely mingled associations of rank, historic fame, and genius, with lowly worth and squalid poverty, which still linger around so many old nooks of the Scottish capital, and give so peculiar an interest to its scenes.

Beyond this lies the more modern district that preceded the New Town, and included in its various districts accommodation designed for very different ranks of society. Nicolson Street, which now forms a portion of the principal southern avenue to the city, was constructed towards the close of last century on an extensive unoccupied space of ground lying between the Pleasance and Potterrow. It belonged to Lady Nicolson, whose house stood nearly at the junction of South College Street with Nicolson Street, and on the

¹ Correspondence between Burns and Clarinda, p. 152. The Poet was at this period lame, from an injury in his knee.

completion of the latter street, she erected a monument to her husband at the north end, consisting of a Corinthian column, measuring above twenty-five feet high. Upon the base an inscription was cut in Latin and English, setting forth that Lady Nicolson had made the adjacent ground, left to her by her husband, be planned out for building, under the name of Nicolson Street, and had erected the monument there out of regard to his memory. On the extension of the thoroughfare and the completion of the South Bridge, this pious memorial was thrown aside into the yard of the public riding-school, then occupying the site where the College of Surgeons now stands, and it has no doubt long since been broken up for building materials. Though the monument of Lady Nicolson might not possess any great value in general estimation, it would have been no unbecoming act for the projectors of these extensive improvements to have found a site for it in the neighbouring square. The building in Nicolson Street, at the corner of Hill Street, now occupied as the Blind Asylum, acquires peculiar interest from having long formed the residence of the celebrated chemist, Dr Black, whose reputation contributed so largely to the fame of the University to which he belonged. Further south, on the same side of the street, a small and mean-looking court, surrounded by humble tenements, and crowded with a dense population, bears the name of Simon Square. It has nothing in its appearance to attract either the artist or the antiquary, yet its associations are intimately connected with the Fine Arts; for here, in a narrow lane, called Paul Street, which leads thence into the Pleasance, David Wilkie took up his abode on his arrival in Edinburgh in 1799. Wilkie was then a raw country lad, only fourteen years of age, and so little was thought of the productions of his pencil that it required the powerful interest of the Earl of Leven to overcome the prejudices of the Secretary of the Academy established in Edinburgh by the Board of Trustees, and obtain his admission as a student. The humble lodging, where the enthusiastic young aspirant for fame first began his career as an artist, cannot but be viewed with lively interest. It is a little back room, measuring barely ten feet square, at the top of a common stair, on the south side of the street, near the Pleasance. From thence he removed to a better lodging in East Richmond Street, and thereafter to a comfortable attic in Palmer's Land, West Nicolson Street. This latter abode of the great Scottish artist possesses peculiar associations with our national arts, his eminent predecessor, Alexander Runciman, having occupied the same apartment till 1784, the year before his death,¹ and having there probably entertained the Poet Ferguson, while with ominous fitness he sat as his model for the Prodigal Son.

Near to this is the aristocratic quarter that sprung up during the tedious delays which preceded the commencement of the New Town, and threatened by its success to compel the projectors of that long-cherished scheme of improvement to abandon their design. Here is George Square, once the abode of rank, and far more worthy of note, as the scene where Scott spent his youth under the paternal roof; that bright period of his existence, of which so many beautiful details are preserved, full of sweet glimpses of the happy

¹ The following entry is extracted from the old family Bible which belonged to the artist's father, and is now in the possession of a gentleman in Edinburgh:—"James Runciman and Mary Smith, married, 1735. Nov. 7, Kilwinning, Alexander, born 15th Aug. 1736. Baptized by John Walker, minister, Canongate, [Edinburgh.] Died Oct. 21st, 1785, at 12 at night in Chapel Street."

circle that gathered round his father's hearth. The house which Scott's father occupied is on the west side of the square, No. 25, and there the lively and curious boy grew up to manhood under the kindly surveillance of the good old pair. The little back room still remains, "*That early den,*" with the young antiquary's beginnings of the future Abbotsford collection, described so piquantly in Lockhart's life of him, by the pen of a female friend; and where Lord Jeffrey found him on his first visit, long years ago, "surrounded with dingy books." Though shorn of all the strange relics that young Walter Scott gathered there, it possesses one valuable memento of the boy. On one of the window panes his name is still seen, inscribed with a diamond in a school-boy hand; and other panes of glass, which contained juvenile verses traced in the same durable manner, have been removed to augment the treasures of modern collectors. On the east side of George Square lies Windmill Street, the name of which preserves the record of an earlier period when a wind-mill occupied its site, and raised the water from the Borough Loch to supply the brewers of the Society. The Incorporation of Brewers has long been dissolved, and the Borough Loch now forms the rich pasturage, and the shady walks of the Meadows; while along its once marshy margin has since been built Buccleuch Place, where the exclusive fashionables of the southern district long maintained their own ball-room and assemblies.

The impossibility of converting this pendicle of the Borough Moor to any useful purpose as private property, while it continued in its original state as a Loch, fortunately prevented its alienation, while nearly every other portion of the valuable tract of land that once belonged to the borough passed into private hands. At the western extremity of the Borough Moor, the venerable tower of Merchiston still stands entire, the birth place of John Napier the inventor of the Logarithms, to whom, according to Hume, the title of a great man is more justly due than to any other whom his country ever produced. The ancestors of the great Scottish philosopher were intimately connected with Edinburgh. The three first Napiers of Merchiston successively filled the office of provost in the reigns of James II. and III., and other connections of the family rose to the same civic dignity. Their illustrious descendant was born at Merchiston Castle in the year 1550, on the eve of memorable changes whereof even the reserved and modest student had to bear his share. The old fortalice of Merchiston, reared at an easy distance from the Scottish capital, lay in the very field of strife. Round its walls the Douglas wars raged for years, and the most striking incidents of the philosopher's early life intermingle with the carnage of that merciless feud. On the 2d of April 1572, he was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir, and on the 5th of the following month, "The cumpany of Edinburgh past furth and seigit Merchingstoun; quha wan all the pairtis thair of except the dungeoun, in the quhilk wes certane suddartis in Leith; the haille houssis wes spoulzeit and brunt, to haue smokit the men of the dungeoun out; but the cuntrie scand the fyre, raise with the pover of Leith and put the men of Edinburgh thairfra without slauchter, bot syndrie hurt."¹ The keep of Merchiston formed, indeed, the key of the south approach to the capital, so that whoever triumphed it became the butt of their opponents' enmity. It lay near enough to be bombarded from the Castle walls by Sir William Kirkaldy, though a cousin of its owner, because some of the king's men held

¹ *Journal of Occurrents*, p. 295.

it for a time, and intercepted the provisions coming to the town. Again and again were the grey towers of Merchiston beleaguered by the furious *Queen's men*, and battered with their cannon till they "maid greit slappis in the wall;" but a truce was at length effected betwixt the contending factions, and the donjon keep became once more the abode of the student, and its battlements the observatory and watch tower of the astrologer. Napier was regarded by his contemporaries as possessed of mysterious supernatural powers; and the marvels attributed to him, with the aid of a familiar spirit that attended him in the shape of a Jet Black Cock, have been preserved among the traditions of the neighbourhood almost to our own day.¹ The philosopher indeed would seem to have indulged his shrewd humour occasionally in giving countenance to such popular conceits. A field in front of Merchiston still bears the name of *the Doo Park* as the scene of one of his necromantic exploits. The pigeons of a neighbouring laird having annoyed him by frequent inroads on his grain, he threatened at length to arrest them *red hand*, and was laughingly dared to "catch them if he could." The depredators made their appearance as usual on the morrow, and partook so heartily of the grain which had been previously saturated with alcohol by the reclaiming owner, that he easily made the bewitched pigeons captives, to the no small astonishment and awe of his neighbours.

It is curious to find a popular nursery tale originating in the grave pranks of the illustrious inventor of the logarithms, yet many juvenile readers will recognize the following adventure of the Warlock of Merchiston and his Jet Black Cock as a familiar story. Napier apparently impressed his domestics with a full belief in his magical powers, as the readiest means of turning their credulity to account. Having on one occasion missed some property, which he suspected had been taken by one of his servants, they were ordered one by one into a dark room where the black cock was confined, and each of them was required to stroke its back, after being warned that it would crow at the touch of the guilty hand. The cock maintained unbroken silence throughout the mysterious ordeal; but the hand of the culprit was the only one found entirely free from the soot with which its feathers had been previously anointed! The philosopher, however, was an adept in astrology, and appears himself to have entertained perfect faith in the possession of unusual powers, particularly in that of discovering hidden treasure. A very singular contract between him and Logan of Restalrig—one of the Gowrie conspirators—was found among the Merchiston papers, wherein it is agreed, that, "forsamekle as ther is dywerss ald reportis, motiffis, and appirancis, that thair suld be within the said Robertis dwellinge place of Fascastell a soum of monie and poiss, heid and hurdit up secritlie, quilk as yit is onfund be ony man. The said Jhone sall do his utter and exact diligens to serche and sik out, and be al craft and ingyne that he dow, to tempt, trye, and find out the sam, and be the grace of God, other sall find the sam, or than mak it suir that na sik thing hes been thair; so far as his utter trawell, diligens, and ingyne, may reach."² This singular contract acquires a peculiar interest, when we remember the reported discovery of hidden treasure with which the preliminary steps of the Gowrie conspiracy were effected.

Within a little distance of the ancient tower of Merchiston, and directly between it and the town, another old mansion of the Napiers attracted the eye of the curious.

¹ Mark Napier's *Memoirs of Napier of Merchiston*, 4to, p. 214.
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² Napier's *Napier of Merchiston*, p. 221.
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This was the picturesque half-castellated edifice of Wrychtishousis, unfortunately acquired by the trustees of Mr Gillespie, a wealthy and benevolent tobacconist who bequeathed his whole fortune to found an hospital for the aged poor. By them it was entirely demolished in the year 1800, and the tasteless modern erection built, which now occupies its site. The nucleus of this singularly picturesque group of irregular masonry appeared to have been an ancient keep, or Peel Tower, evidently of very early date, around which were clustered in various styles of architecture, intricate ranges of buildings and irregular turrets, which had been added by successive owners to increase the accommodation afforded by the primitive tower. The general effect of this antique pile was greatly enhanced on approaching it by the numerous heraldic devices and inscriptions which adorned every window, doorway, and ornamental pinnacle; the whole walls being crowded with armorial bearings, designed to perpetuate the memory of the noble alliances by which the family succession of the Napiers of Wrychtishousis had been continued from early times. The earliest records of this ancient family which have been discovered, show that William Napier the owner of the old mansion in 1390, was then Constable of Edinburgh Castle, and maintained that important stronghold at the beginning of the following century, with the aid of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and the unfortunate Duke of Rothsay, against Henry IV., at the head of the whole military force of England. To this brave resistance, which baffled all the efforts of the English monarch and redeemed Scotland from total subjection, the ingenious genealogist of the Napiers conceives that the peculiar tenure of the Wrychtishousis may be referred. From old charters preserved in the Register House it appears that that property was held by payment to the king of a silver penny upon the *Castle Hill* of Edinburgh. "Fourteen years services as Constable, including so memorable a siege, may perhaps account for the silver link between the Wrychtishousis and the Castle Hill."¹

The singular edifice thus intimately associated with a historical event of such memorable importance, formed by far the most striking example of an ancient baronial mansion that existed in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Minutely examined, it exhibited the picturesque blending of the rude feudal stronghold with the ornate additions of more peaceful times, combining altogether to produce a pleasing effect rarely equalled by more regular designs. The effect of this irregular group of the various styles of Scottish architecture is described by those who still remember it with regret, as singularly striking, especially when viewed from the Borough Muir towards sunset, rearing its towers and pinnacles against the evening sky. Had it remained till now it is probable that the prevalence of a better taste would have induced the trustees of Gillespie's foundation to adapt it to the purposes of their charitable institution, instead of levelling it with the ground. Its demolition, however, was not effected even then without a spirited, though ineffectual remonstrance, by a correspondent of the *Edinburgh Magazine* for July 1800, who writes under the name of *Oadmon*, and urges, among other arguments, the venerable antiquity of the building, one of the dates on which was 1376. "Above one window," he remarks, "was the inscription, SICUT OLIVA FRUCTIFERA, 1376; and above another, IN DOMINO CONFIDO, 1400. There were several later dates, marking the periods, probably

¹ Partition of the Lennox, p. 181.

of additions, embellishments, or repairs, or the succession of different proprietors. The arms over the principal door were those of Britain after the Union of the Crowns. On triangular stones, above the windows, were five emblematical representations :—

And in these five, such things their form express'd,
As we can touch, taste, feel, or hear, or see.

A variety of the *Virtues* also were strewed upon different parts of the building. In one place was a rude representation of our first parents, and underneath, the well-known old proverbial distich :—

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Quhair war a' the gentles than ?

In another place was a head of Julius Cæsar, and elsewhere a head of Octavius Secundus, both in good preservation." Many of these sculptures were recklessly defaced and broken, and the whole of them dispersed. Among those we have examined, there is one, now built over the doorway of Gillespie's School, having a tree cut on it, bearing for fruit the stars and crescents of the family arms, and the inscription *DOMINUS EST ILLUMINATIO MEA* ; another, placed over the Hospital well, has this legend below a boldly cut heraldic device, *CONSTANTIA ET LABORE* . 1339. On two others, now at Woodhouselee, are the following, *BEATUS VIR QUI SPERAT IN DEO* . 1450 . and *PATRIÆ ET POSTERIS* . 1513 . Altogether there were probably included in the decorations of this single building more quaint and curious allegories and inscriptions than are now left to reward our investigation among all the antiquities of the old town. The only remains of this singular mansion that have escaped the general wreck, are the sculptured pediments and heraldic carvings built into the boundary walls of the Hospital ; and a few others, referred to above, which were secured by the late Lord Woodhouselee, and now adorn a ruin on Mr Tytler's estate at the Pentlands. An examination of these suffices to show that no dependance can be placed on the date referred to by *Cadmon* in fixing the age of the building, as the whole are in the florid style that prevailed in the reign of James VI., and were no doubt cut at one period as a durable memorial of the family tree.¹ Maitland after refuting the popular derivation of the name of Wrychtishousis, from the supposed fact of the *wrights* or carpenters having dwelt there while cutting down the oaks of the Borough Muir, assigns it as the mansion of the *Laird of Wryte*.² That however, is merely reasoning in a circle, and deriving its name from itself ; but no better explanation seems now discoverable.

¹ A minute account of these, with accurate facsimiles of several of them will be found in "The History of the Partition of the Lennox." The author shows that from the earliest records no evidence leads to the idea of any connection between the owners of Merchiston and Wrychtishousis, notwithstanding their common name. Their arms are quite distinct, until 1513—the memorable year of Flodden,—when one of the heraldic sculptures shows an alliance between the Laird of Wrychtishousis and a daughter of Merchiston. The author, however, does not notice the fact that on the family vault in St Giles's Church, the arms of both families are cut, not impaled but on two distinct, though attached shields, and with the Merchiston crest. He has been driven to some very ingenious and learned theories to account for a shield bearing three crescents on the field, which he found—where it ought to be—at Woodhouselee, being the arms of the present owner of the house.

² Maitland, p. 508.—This derivation is deduced erroneously from the boundaries of the Borough Muir as given by himself, where he has printed in the possessive case and as two words, what should evidently read, "The Laird of Wryteshouse," as in the previous sentence, "The Laird of Merchiston."—Ibid. p. 177.

Only one other suburban district remains to be included in our sketch of the old Scottish capital. Villages and hamlets have indeed been embraced within its modern extensions, or swept away to make room for the formal streets and squares of the New Town; but these are the offspring of another parentage, though claiming a part among the memorials of the olden time. At the foot of Leith Wynd—and just without the ancient boundaries of the capital, lies an ancient suburb, which though at no time dignified by the abodes of the nobility, or even of citizens of note, was selected as the site of several early religious foundations that still confer some interest on the locality. The foot of the wynd is also remarkable as the scene of one of those strange acts of lawless violence, which were of such frequent occurrence in early times. John Graham, parson of Killearn, one of the supreme criminal judges, having married the widow of Sandilands of Calder, instituted a vexatious law-suit against her son. The partizans of the latter probably considered it vain to compete with a lawyer at his own weapons, and his uncle, Sir James Sandilands, accompanied by a body of his friends and followers, lay in wait for the judge on the 1st of February 1592, in the wynd, which then formed one of the principal avenues to the town, and avenged their quarrel by murdering him in open day, without any of the perpetrators being brought to trial or punishment.¹ At the foot of the wynd still stands the building known as Paul's Work, rebuilt in 1619, on the site of an ancient religious foundation. About the year 1479, Thomas Spence, Bishop of Aberdeen, founded an hospital there, for the reception and entertainment of twelve poor men, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary, under the name of the Hospital of our Lady in Leith Wynd, and it subsequently received considerable augmentation to its revenues from other benefactors. It is probable that among these benefactions, there had been a chapel or altar dedicated to St Paul, unless, indeed, this was included in the original charter of foundation.² All these documents, however, are now lost, and we are mainly left to conjecture as to the source of the change of name which early took place. In 1582, the Common Council adapted this charitable foundation to the new order of things, and drew up statutes for the guidance of the Bedemen, wherein it is required, that "in Religion they be na Papistes, bot of the trew Religion."³ Subsequently the whole revenues were diverted to purposes never dreamt of by the pious founders. The buildings having probably fallen into decay, were reconstructed as they now appear, and certain Dutch manufacturers were invited over from Delft, and established there for the instruction of poor girls and boys in the manufacturing of woollen stuffs. The influence of these strangers in their legitimate vocation failed of effect, but Calderwood records in 1621, "Manie of the profainner sort of the toun were drawn

¹ Arnot's Criminal Trials, p. 174.

² "Feb. 7, 1696.—Reduction pursued by the Town of Edinburgh against Sir Wm. Binny, and other partners of the Linen Manufactory, in Paul's Work, of the tack set to them of the same in 1683. Insisted lmo, that this house was founded by Thos. Spence, Bishop of Aberdeen, in the reign of King James II., for discipline and training of idle vagabonds, and dedicated to St Paul; and by an Act of Council in 1626, was destinate and mortified for educating boys in a woollen manufactory; and this tack had inverted the original design, contrary to the 6th Act of Parliament, 1633, discharging the sacrilegious inversion of all pious donations."—Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 709. "There was a hospital and chapel, dedicated to St Paul, in Edinburgh; and there was in the chapel an altar and chaplainry consecrated to the Virgin; of which Sir William Knolla, the preceptor of Torphichen claimed the patronage before the Privy Council, in 1495."—Parl. Rec. 472. Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 471.

³ Maitland, pp. 468-9.



HOSPITAL OF OUR LADY.

PAUL'S WORK. REBUILT 1619.

Engraved by Hugh Paton from a drawing by E. H. Murray.

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out upon the sixth of May, to May games in Gilmertoun and Rosseline; so profanitie began to accompanie superstition and idolatrie, as it hath done in former times. Upon the first of May, the weavers in St Paul's Worke, Englishe and Dutche, set up a highe May pole, with their garlants and bells hanging at them, wherat was great concourse of people."¹ This manufacturing speculation, though devised for benevolent purposes, entirely failed, and dissipated the whole revenues of the older foundation. We next find it converted into an Hospital for the wounded soldiers of General Leslie's army, during the skirmishing that preceded his total defeat at Dunbar;² and thereafter it reached its final degradation as a penal workhouse or bridewell, in which capacity it is referred to in the Heart of Mid-Lothian. The building is decorated with the city arms, and sundry other rudely sculptured devices on the pediments of the dormer windows that appear in our view, and over the doorway is inscribed the pious aspiration:—GOD · BLIS · THIS · WARK · with the date 1619.

Beyond this lies the district of Calton,³ which had for its superiors the Lords Balmerinoch, until the Common Council purchased the superiority of it from the last representative of that noble family, who perished on the block in 1746. The first Lord Balmerinoch was made the scape-goat of his royal master James VI., on the Secretary Cecil producing a letter to the Council, which his Majesty had written to the Pope, Clement VIII., with the view of smoothing his accession to the English throne. Lord Balmerinoch was accused as the author of the letter, and sent prisoner to Edinburgh, "with the people of which place," says Scott of Scotstarvit, "he was little favoured, because he had acquired many lands about the town, so that John Henderson, the bailie, forced him to light off his horse at the foot of Leith Wynd, albeit he had the rose in his leg, and was very unable to walk, till he came to the prison house." He was condemned to be beheaded, but was soon after permitted to retire to his own house, the whole being a mere *ruse* to cover the King's double dealing. The last Lord presented the Old Calton Burying Ground to his vassals, as a place of sepulture, and it is said offered them the whole hill for £40. This district, however, must have existed long before King James bestowed that title on his favourite, as the last remains of an ancient chapel, dedicated to St Ninian, were swept away in 1814, in clearing the site for the west pier of the Regent Bridge. Only the crypt, or vaulted ground story, remained at the time of its demolition; but "the baptismal font," as Arnot styles it, or more probably the holy-water stoup, was removed by Mr Walter Ross in 1778, to the curious Gothic tower built by him at Dean Haugh. It consists of a neatly sculptured bason, forming the base of a Gothic niche, and surmounted by an elegant Gothic canopy, and now forms one of the heterogeneous decorations collected by Sir Walter Scott for his mansion at Abbotsford. Nothing is known either of the founders or the date of erection of St Ninian's Chapel. The neighbouring Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity was dedicated, in the charter of foundation, "For the praise and honour of the Holy Trinity, of the ever-blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, of *St Ninian the Confessor*, and of all saints and elect of God."⁴ The chapel appears, however, to have been a dependency of the Abbey of

¹ Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 458.

² Nicoll's Diary, p. 23.

³ "Calton or Caldoun, is admitted to be the hill covered with bushes." Dalrymple's Annals, vol. i. p. 96.

⁴ Charter of Foundation, Maitland, p. 207.

Holyrood, from different notices of it that occur in licenses granted by the Abbots to the Corporations of the Canongate, for founding and maintaining altars in the Abbey Church. In a license granted in 1554, by Robert Stewart, Abbot of Holyrood, "for augmentatioun of dyuine seruice at ane alter to be biggit within our sayd abbay, quhare Sanct Crispine and Crispiniane yer patronis sall stand;" it is added, "And als it is our will yat ye cordinaris dwelland within our regalite, . . . besyde our chapell of Sanct Niniane, outwith Sanct Andrews Port besyde Edinburcht, be in bretherheid and fallowschipe with ye said dekin and masteris of ye said Cordinar crauft."¹ The main street of the Barony of Calton, derived from this ancient chapel the name of St Ninian's Row, and although this had been superseded by common consent of late years, there still remains carved on the west side of the large old well the name and date, ST NINIAN'S ROW, 1752; while on the lintel of the east doorway is cut "CRAIG END, the term by which the High Calton was known of old. Here also is the boundary of South Leith Parish, in proof of which there might recently be seen carved and gilded in raised letters on a beam under the north-west gallery of St Mary's Church, Leith, "FOR THE CRAIG END, 1652." The engraving of St Ninian's Row will serve to convey some idea of the picturesque range of edifices dedicated of old to the Confessor, and swept away by the recent operations of the North British Railway. They were altogether of a humble character, and appear to have very early received a more appropriate dedication as "The Beggar Row." One stone tenement, which seemed to lay claim to somewhat higher pretensions than its frail lath and plaster neighbours, owed its origin to the temporary prosperity of the vassals of St Crispin in this little barony. An ornamental pannel graced the front of its projecting stair-case, decorated with the Shoemakers' arms, surrounded with a richly sculptured border, and bearing the pious motto:—GOD BLISS THEM CORDINERS OF EDINBURGH, WHA BUILT THIS HOUSE. It was sacrificed, we presume, in the general ruin of the Cordiners of Canongate and its dependencies. In Sempill of Beltrees' curious poem, "The Banishment of Poverty," already referred to, the author and his travelling companion, the Genius of Poverty, make for this locality as the best suited for such wayfarers:—

We held the Long-gate to Leith Wyne,
Where poorest purses used to be;
And in the Caltown lodged syne,
Fit quarters for such companie.

Such was its state in 1680, when it formed one of the chief thoroughfares to the city, and the road which led by the ancient Burgh of Broughton to the neighbouring seaport. The principal approach to Leith, however, continued for nearly a century after this to be by the Eastern Road, through the Water Gate; and the present broad and handsome thoroughfare, which still retains the name of *Leith Walk*, was then simply an elevated gravel path. The origin of this valuable modern improvement is strangely traceable to one of the most disastrous campaigns of the seventeenth century. During the manœuvrings

¹ Liber Cartarum, App. p. 291. This, it will be observed, is an earlier notice of the Cordiners of Canongate than that referred to on p. 72. The Hall of the Cordiners of Calton was only demolished in 1845, for the site of the North British Railway Station.



NINIAN'S ROW

TAKEN DOWN 1844.

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of the Scottish army under their Covenanting leader, General Leslie, in 1650, previous to the battle of Dunbar, the whole forces were drawn up for a time in the open plain between Edinburgh and Leith, and a line of defence constructed by means of a redoubt on the Calton Hill, and another at Leith, with a trench and parapet extending between them. The position was admirably adapted both for the defence of the towns and the security of the army, so long as the latter remained on the defensive ; but the superior tactics of Cromwell soon drew General Leslie's forces out of their secure position, and tempted them to follow to their own destruction. The mound thus thrown up between the two towns was gradually improved into a pleasant footpath. Defoe remarks in 1748,—Leith Wynd “leads north into a suburb called the Calton ; from whence there is a very handsome gravel-walk, twenty feet broad, continued to the town of Leith, which is kept in good repair at the public charge, and no horses suffered to come upon it.”¹ Thus it continued till the opening of the North Bridge in 1772, when it seems to have been adopted as a carriage road, with very little provision for its security or maintenance. It has since been converted, at great expense, into one of the broadest and most substantial causeways in the kingdom, along which handsome streets and squares are now laid out, destined, when completed, to unite the capital and its seaport into one great city ; but it still retains, in its name of Leith Walk, a memento of the period when it was carefully guarded for the exclusive use of pedestrian travellers. About half way between Edinburgh and Leith, on the west side of the Walk, is the site of the Gallow-Lee, once a rising ground, whose summit was decorated with the hideous apparatus of public execution, permanently erected there for the exposure of the mangled limbs of notorious culprits or political offenders. This accursed Golgotha, however, has been literally carted away, to convert the fine sand, of which it chiefly consisted, into mortar for the builders of the New Town ; and the forsaken sand-pit now blooms with the rarest exotics and the fresh tints of nursling trees, the whole ground being laid out as the nursery of Messrs Eagle and Henderson. The rising ground called Heriot's Hill, which lies immediately to the north of the nursery, serves to show the former height of the Gallow-Lee. When the surrounding ground was unoccupied, and the whole area of the New Town lying in open fields, the lonely gibbet with its loathsome burden must have formed a prominent object from a considerable distance on every side,—a *moral lesson*, as our forefathers conceived, of great value in the suburban landscape !

¹ Defoe's Tour, vol. iv. p. 86.

CHAPTER X.

LEITH, AND THE NEW TOWN.



THE history and antiquities of the ancient burgh of Leith are much too intimately connected with the Scottish capital to admit of their being overlooked among its venerable memorials. The earliest notice of Leith occurs in the original charter of Holyrood Abbey, where it is mentioned among the gifts bestowed by Saint David on his royal foundation, under the name of Inverleth. Little however, is known of its history, until the year 1329, when the citizens of Edinburgh obtained from King Robert I. a grant of the Harbour and Mills of Leith, for the payment of fifty-two merks yearly. From that period almost to our

day it has remained as a vassal of Edinburgh, not incorporated, like the Canongate, by amicable relations and the beneficent fruits of a paternal sway, but watched with a spirit of mean jealousy that seemed ever to dread the step-child becoming a formidable rival. It bore a share in all the disasters that befel its jealous neighbour, without partaking of its more prosperous fortunes, until the Burgh Reform Bill of 1833 at length freed it from this slavish vassalage, that proved in its operations alike injurious to the capital and its Port. The position it occupied, and the share it had in the successive struggles that exercised so marked an influence on the history of Edinburgh, have already been sufficiently detailed in the introductory sketch. It suffered nearly as much from the invading armies of Henry VIII. as Edinburgh; while in the bloody feuds between the Congregation and the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, and the no less bitter strife of the Douglas wars, it was dragged unwillingly into their quarrels and compelled to bear the brunt of its more powerful neighbour's wrath.

In the reign of Alexander III., it belonged to the Leiths, a family who owned extensive possessions in Mid-Lothian, including the lands of Restalrig, and took their paternal surname from the town. About the commencement of the fourteenth century

VIGNETTE—Arms, Vinegar Close, Leith.

these possessions passed by marriage to the Logans, the remains of whose ancient stronghold still frowns above the crag that rises from the eastern bank of Loch End ; and after the royal grant of the Harbour to the Town of Edinburgh by Robert I., Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, Knight, the baronial lord of Leith, appears as a successful competitor with the magistrates of Edinburgh for the right of road-way and other privileges claimed by virtue of the royal grant. The estate of Restalrig extended from the outskirts of the Canongate to the Water of Leith, including the Calton, or Wester Restalrig, as it was styled ; but Logan was easily induced to sell the rights of his unfortunate vassals to their jealous rivals. The Logans, however, continued long afterwards to possess nearly the whole surrounding property, and thereby to maintain their influence and superiority in the burgh, where they appear to have always had their town mansion. The following allusion to it, in the reign of Queen Mary, by a contemporary, shows its dignity and importance, at a period when a greater number of the nobility and higher clergy were residing in Leith than had ever been at any earlier date. " Vpoun the xvij of May 1572, thair come to Leith ane ambassatour fra the King of France, nameit Monsieur Lacrok, a man of good knowlege, to intreat for peace betuix the pairties ; at the quhilk tyme of his entrie, the hail inhabitaris and remanaris within the burgh of Edinburgh wer in thair armour wpone the fieldis in sicht of thair aduersaris, quha dischargit fyve peices of artailzerie at thame, and did na skaith. Vpoun the xxj day, the foirnameit ambassatour come to Edinburgh Castell, met be George Lord Seytoun, at quhais entrie certane mvnitoun wes dischargit ; quha past the same nycht to Leith agane, and lugeit in Mr Johne Loganes lugeing thair."¹ The whole possessions of this ancient family were at length forfeited in the reign of James VI. by the turbulent baron, Robert Logan of Restalrig, being involved in the Gowrie conspiracy ; though his share in that mysterious plot was not discovered till he was in his grave. The forfeited estates were transferred to the Elphinstons of Balmerinloch, new favourites who were rising to wealth and power on the spoils of the church and the ruin of its adherents.

One of the descendants of the Barons of Restalrig appears to have retrieved in some degree the failing fortunes of the family by a gallant *coup-de-main*, achieved against a host of opponents. A gentleman in Leith has now in his possession the marriage-contract between Logan and Isabella Fowler, an heiress whom tradition affirms to have been the celebrated *Tibbie Fowler o' the glen*, renowned in Scottish song, whose *penny siller* proved so tempting a bait that the lady's choice involved the defeat of forty disappointed wooers ! With *Tibbie's siller* he appears to have built himself a handsome mansion at the head of the Sheriff Brae, which was demolished only a few years since, to make way for the Church and Alms Houses erected by Sir John Gladstone of Fasque, Bart. It was decorated with a series of sculptured dormer windows, one of which bore the initials I. L., with the date 1636.²

Among the antiquities of Leith, as might be anticipated, there are none of so early a character as those we have described in the ancient capital. Its ecclesiastical establishments apparently claim no existence prior to the fifteenth century ; while the oldest date

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 263.

² Campbell's Hist. of Leith, p. 315. George, grandson of Robert Logan, who was forfeited, married Isabel Fowler, daughter to Ludovick Fowler of Burncastle. Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. i. p. 202.

we have found on any private building is 1573. It is nevertheless a quaint old-fashioned looking burgh, full of crooked alleys, and rambling narrow wynds, scattered about in the most irregular and lawless fashion, and happily innocent as yet of the refinements of an Improvements Commission; though the more gradual operations of time and changing tastes have swept away many curious features of the olden time. There is indeed an air of substantial business-like bustle and activity about its narrow unpretending thoroughfares, and dingy-looking counting houses, that strangely contrasts with the gaudy finery of New-Town trading. The London fopperies of huge plate-glass windows, and sculptured and decorated shop fronts so much in vogue there, are nearly unknown among the burghers of Leith. The dealers are too busy about more important matters to trouble themselves with these new-fangled extravagancies, while their customers are much too knowing to be attracted by any such showy baits. The contrast indeed between the Scottish capital and its port is even more marked than that which distinguishes the courtly west end of London from its plebeian Wapping or White Chapel, and is probably, in all the most substantial sources of difference, in favour of the busy little burgh: whose merchants conduct a large and important share of the trade of the North of Europe in their unpretending little boothies, while the shop keeper of the neighbouring city magnifies the petty details transacted over his well-polished mahogany counter, and writes himself down *Merchant* accordingly.

The principal street of Leith is the Kirkgate, a broad and somewhat stately thoroughfare, according to the prevalent proportions among the lanes and alleys of this close-packed little burgh. Time and modern taste have slowly, but very effectually, modified its antique features. No timber-fronted gable now thrusts its picturesque façade with careless grace beyond the line of more staid and formal-looking ashlar fronts. Even the crow-stepped gables of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are becoming the exception; and it is only by the irregularity which still pertains to it, aided by the few really antique tenements that remain unaltered, that it now attracts the notice of the curious visitor as the genuine remains of the ancient High Street of the burgh. Some of these relics of former times are well worthy of the notice of the antiquary, while memorials of still earlier fabrics here and there meet the eye, and carry back the imagination to those stirring scenes in the history of this locality, when the Queen Regent and her courtiers and allies made it their stronghold and chosen place of abode; or when amid a more peaceful array, the fair Scottish Queen Mary, or the sumptuous Anne of Denmark, rode gaily through the street on their way to Holyrood. At the south-east angle of the old church-yard, one of these memorials meets the eye in the shape of an elegant Gothic pediment surmounting the boundary wall, and adorned with the Scottish Regalia, sculptured in high relief, with the initials J. R. 6; while a large pannel below bears the Royal Arms and initials of Charles II., very boldly executed. These insignia of royalty are intended to mark the spot on which King James's Hospital stood,—a benevolent foundation which owed no more to the royal patron whose name it bore, than the confirmation by his charter in 1641 of a portion of those revenues that had been long before bestowed by the piety of private donors on the Hospital of St Anthony, and the imposition of a duty on all wine brought into the port for the augmentation of its reduced funds. Here certain poor women were maintained, being presented thereto by the United Corporations of Leith, exclusive of that of the Mariners, the wealthiest

and most numerous class of privileged citizens, whose Hospital, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, stood directly opposite to St Mary's Church, on the site now occupied by the Trinity House. The inscription which adorned the ancient edifice is built into the south wall of the new building at the corner of St Giles' Street, cut in large and highly ornamental antique characters:—IN THE NAME OF THE LORD VE MASTERIS AND MARENELIS BYLIS THIS HOVS TO YE POVE. ANNO DOMINI 1555. The date of this foundation is curious. Its dedication implies that it originated with the adherents of the ancient faith, while the date of the old inscription indicates the very period when the Queen Regent assumed the reins of government. That same year John Knox landed at Leith on his return from exile; and only three years later, the last convocation of the Roman Catholic clergy that ever assembled in Scotland under the sanction of its laws, was held in the Blackfriars' Church at Edinburgh, and signalized its final session, by proscribing Sir David Lindsay's writings, and enacting that his "buik should be abolished and brunt."

To the east of the Trinity House, on the north side of the Kirkgate, a very singular building fronts the main street at the head of Combe's Close. The upper stories appear to have been erected about the end of the sixteenth century, and form rather a neat and picturesque specimen of the private buildings of that period. But the ground floor presents different and altogether dissimilar features. An arcade extends along nearly the whole front, formed of semicircular arches, resting on massive round pillars, finished with neat moulded capitals. Their appearance is such that even an experienced antiquary, if altogether ignorant of the history of the locality, would at once pronounce them to be early and very interesting Norman remains. That they are of considerable antiquity cannot be doubted. The floor of the house is now several feet below the level of the street; and the ground has risen so much within one of them, which is an open archway giving access to the court behind, that a man of ordinary stature has to stoop considerably in attempting to pass through it. No evidence is more incontrovertible as to the great age of a building than this. Other instances of a similar mode of construction are, however, to be found in Leith, tending to show that the style of architecture is not a safe criterion of the date of their erection. The most remarkable of these is an ancient edifice in the Sheep's Head Wynd, the ground floor of which is formed of arches constructed in the same very early style, though somewhat plainer and less massive in character, while over the doorway of the projecting staircase is cut in ornamental characters the initials and date, D. W., M. W., 1579. The edifice, though small and greatly dilapidated, is ornamented with string courses and mouldings, and retains the evidences of former grandeur amid its degradation and decay.¹ Maitland refers to another building, still standing at the north-west corner of Queen Street, which, in his day, had its lower story in the form of an open piazza, but modern alterations have completely concealed this antique feature. Here was the exchange or meeting place of the merchants and traders of Leith for the transaction of business, as was indicated by the popular name of the Bursse—evidently a corruption of the French term *Bourse*,—by which it was generally known at a very recent period. The arches in the Kirkgate have also been closed up and converted into shops, of late years,

¹ This tenement is erroneously pointed out in Campbell's History of Leith, as bearing the earliest date on any private edifice in the town.

but not so effectually as to conceal their character, which is deserving of special notice as a peculiar and very characteristic feature in the domestic architecture of the town. Returning, however, to the ancient edifices of the Kirkgate, we must refer the reader to the view already given of one which was only demolished in 1845, and which, from its appearance, was undoubtedly one of the oldest private buildings in Leith.¹ Popular fame, as was mentioned before, assigned its erection to Mary of Guise. The value to be attached to such traditional associations may be inferred from a remark in the most recent history of Leith:—"Were we to give credit to all the traditionary information we have received, Mary of Lorraine would appear to have had in Leith not one place of residence, but at least a score, there being scarcely an old house in the town without its claims to the honour of having been the habitation of the Queen Regent. The mortification, therefore, which certainly awaits him who sets out on an antiquarian excursion through Leith, particularly if the house of that illustrious personage be the object of his pursuit, will not proceed from any difficulty in discovering the former residence of her Majesty, but in the much more puzzling circumstance of finding by far too many. In short, that nearly all the existing antiquities of Leith are fairly divided between Cromwell and Queen Mary, between whom there would seem to have been a sort of partnership in building houses. As might naturally be expected from this association, her Majesty and the Protector would appear to have lived on the most sociable footing. We have in more than one instance found them residing under one roof, Queen Mary occupying probably the first floor, and Cromwell living up stairs."² Such popular aptitude in the coining of traditions is by no means confined to Leith, but the antiquary may escape all further trouble in searching for the Queen's Mansion by consulting Maitland, who remarks, "that Mary of Lorraine having chosen Leith for her residence, erected a house to dwell in at the corner of Quality Street Wynd in the Rotten-row," now known as Water Lane, "but the same being taken down and rebuilt, the Scottish Arms which were in the front thereof, are erected in the wall of a house opposite thereto on the southern side; and the said Mary, for the convenience of holding councils, erected a handsome and spacious edifice for her Privy Council to meet in."³ The curious visitor will look in vain now even for the sculptured arms, that escaped the general destruction of the ancient edifice wherein the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, spent the last years of her life, embittered by the strife of factions, and the horrors of civil war;—an ominous preparative for her unfortunate daughter's assumption of the sceptre, which was then wielded in her name. One royal abode, however, still remains—if tradition is to be trusted,—and forms a feature of peculiar interest among the antiquities of the Kirkgate. Entering by a low and narrow archway immediately behind the buildings on the east side, and about half-way between Charlotte Street and Coatfield Lane, the visitor finds himself in a singular looking, irregular, little court, retaining unequivocal marks of former magnificence. A projecting staircase is thrust obliquely into the narrow space, and adapts itself to the irregular sides of the court by sundry corbels and recesses, such as form the most characteristic features of our old Scottish domestic architecture, and might almost seem to a fanciful imagination to have been produced as it jostled itself into the straitened site. A richly decorated dormer

¹ Ante, vol. i. p. 54.² Abridged from Campbell's History of Leith, p. 312.³ Maitland, p. 496.

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ANCIENT COUNCIL HOUSE.

COAL HILL, LEITH.

window forms the chief ornament of this portion of the building, finished with unusually fine Elizabethan work, and surmounted by a coronet and thistle, with the letter C. Behind this a simple square tower rises to a considerable height, finished with a bartizaned roof, apparently designed for commanding an extensive view. Such is the approach to the sole remaining abode of royalty in this ancient burgh. The straitened access, however, conveys a very false idea of the accommodation within. It is a large and elegant mansion, presenting its main front to the east, where an extensive piece of garden ground is enclosed, reaching nearly to the site of the ancient town walls; from whence, it is probable, there was formerly an opening to the neighbouring downs. The east front appears to have been considerably modernized. Its most striking feature is a curiously decorated doorway, finished in the ornate style of bastard Gothic introduced in the reign of James VI. An ogee arch, filled with rich Gothic tracery, surmounts the square lintel, finished with a lion's head, which seems to hold the arch suspended in its mouth; and on either side is a sculptured shield, on one of which a monogram is cut, characterized by the usual inexplicable ingenuity of these quaint riddles, and with the date 1631.¹ Here, according to early and credible tradition, was the mansion of John, third Lord Balmerinoch, where he received the young King, Charles II., on his arrival at Leith on the 29th July 1650, to review the Scottish army, which then lay encamped on the neighbouring links, numbering above forty thousand men. Charles having failed in obtaining the Scottish Crown on his own terms, notwithstanding his being proclaimed King at the Cross of Edinburgh on the execution of Charles I., had now agreed to receive it with all devout solemnity on the terms dictated by the Presbyterian royalists, as a covenanted King. He proceeded from Leith on Friday, 2nd August, and rode in state to the capital of his ancestors, amid the noisiest demonstrations of welcome from the fickle populace. From the Castle, where he was received with a royal salute, he walked on foot to the Parliament House, to partake of a banquet provided for him at the expense of the City, and from thence he returned the same evening to my Lord Balmerinoch's House at Leith.

We have furnished a view of the fine old building at the Coalhill, near the harbour, which is believed to have been "the handsome and spacious edifice" erected by the Queen Regent for the meeting of her council. It is a large and stately fabric, and presents numerous evidences of former magnificence in its internal decorations. The tradition is confirmed by further evidence; as a small and mean-looking little court behind, though abandoned probably for considerably more than a century to the occupation of the very poorest and most squalid of the population, still retains the imposing title of the Parliament Square. The whole of the buildings that enclose this dignified area abound with the dilapidated relics of costly internal adornment; some large and very fine specimens of oak carving were removed from it a few years since, and even a beautifully carved

¹ The arms on the second shield do not support the tradition, as they are neither those of Lord Balmerinoch, nor of his ancestor, James Elphinstone, Lord Coupar, to whom the coroneted C might otherwise have been supposed to refer. The Earls of Crawford are also known to have had a mansion in Leith, but the arms in no degree correspond with those borne by any of these families. They are—quarterly, 1st and 4th, the Royal Arms of Scotland; 2nd and 3rd, a ship with sails furled; over all, on a shield of pretence, a Cheveron. As, however, the house appears by the date to have been built nineteen years before the visit of Charles to Leith, and the period was one when forfeiture and ruin compelled many noble families to abandon their possessions, it is still possible that the tradition may be trustworthy, which assigns it as the mansion of Lord Balmerinoch, and the lodging of the Merry Monarch.

old oaken chair remained till recently an heir-loom bequeathed by its patrician occupants to the humble tenants of their degraded dwellings. A recent writer on the antiquities of Leith, conceives it probable that this may have been the residence of the Regent Lennox; but we have been baffled in our attempts to arrive at any certain evidence on the subject by reference to the titles. "Mary," says Maitland, "having begun to build in the town of Leith, was followed therein by divers of the nobility, bishops, and other persons of distinction of her party; several of whose houses are still remaining, as may be seen in sundry places, by their spacious rooms, lofty ceilings, large staircases, and private oratories or chapels for the celebration of mass." Beyond the probable evidence afforded by such remains of decaying splendour and former wealth, nothing more can now be ascertained. The occupation of Leith by nobles and dignitaries of the church was of a temporary nature, and under circumstances little calculated to induce them to leave many durable memorials of their presence. A general glance, therefore, at such noticeable features as still remain, will suffice to complete our survey of the ancient seaport.

The earliest date that we have discovered on any of the old private buildings of the burgh, occurs on the projecting turnpike of an antique tenement at the foot of Burgess Close, which bears this inscription on the lintel, in Roman characters:—*NISI DNS FRUSTRA, 1573*. This ancient alley is the earliest thoroughfare in the burgh of which we have any account. It was granted to the burgesses of Edinburgh, towards the close of the fourteenth century, by Logan of Restalrig, the baronial over-lord of Leith before it acquired the dignity of a royal burgh, and the owner of nearly all the lands that extended along the banks of the harbour of Leith. We are led to infer from the straitened proportions of this narrow alley, that the whole exports and imports of the shipping of Leith were conveyed on pack-horses, or in wheel-barrows, as it would certainly prove impassable for any larger wheeled conveyance. Its inconvenience, however, appears to have been felt at the time; and the Laird of Restalrig was speedily compelled to grant a more commodious access to the shore. The inscription which now graces this venerable thoroughfare, though of a date so much later than its first construction, preserves a memorial of its gift to the civic council of Edinburgh, as we may reasonably ascribe to the veneration of some wealthy merchant of the capital the inscribing over the doorway of his mansion at Leith the very appropriate motto of the City Arms. To this, the oldest quarter of the town, indeed, we must direct those who go "in search of the picturesque." Waters' Close, which adjoins Burgess Close, is scarcely surpassed by any venerable alley of the capital, either in its attractive or repulsive features. Stone and timber lands are mixed together in admired disorder; and one antique tenement in particular, at the corner of Water Lane, with a broad projecting turnpike, contorted by corbels and string courses, and every variety of convenient aberration from the perpendicular or horizontal, which the taste or whim of its constructor could devise, is one of the most singular edifices that the artist could select as a subject for his pencil.

The custom of affixing sententious aphorisms to the entrances of their dwellings appears to have pertained fully as much to the citizens of Leith as of Edinburgh. *BLISSIT . BE . GOD . OF . HIS . GIFTIS . 1601*, I. W., I. H., is boldly cut on a large square pannel on the front of an old house at the head of Sheriff Brae; and the same favourite motto fre-

quently occurs with slight variations. The earliest instance of it is on the front of an ancient tenement at the head of Binnie's Close, St Giles' Street, where it is accompanied with a large and finely cut shield, with two coats of arms impaled, and the date 1594. Near to this, in Muckle's Close, is the following:—THE . BLISSING . OF . GOD . IS . GRIT . RICHES . M. S. 1609. In Vinegar Close, an ancient building, now greatly modernized, is adorned with a large sculptured shield, containing the armorial bearings represented in the vignette at the head of the chapter. In St Andrew Street, over a window on the first floor of a house fronting Smeaton's Close, is the common legend—THE FEIR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGINNING OF AL VISDOME; and on the same building within the close, another window bears the brief inscription and date:—FEIR THE LORD, 1688;—the year of the Revolution. The lintel of the ancient doorway of a house in Water Lane, demolished in 1832, bore the following pious couplet, with the date 1574:—

THEY AR WELCOME HERE,
QUHA THE LORD DO FEIR.

And over another doorway in Queen Street, there is cut, in more ancient and ornamental characters—CREDENTI . NIHIL . LINGUÆ. A fine old building near the head of Queen Street, which was only demolished a few years since, was generally believed to be the mansion which had been honoured as the residence of the Queen Regent; but the name of the street, which probably suggested the tradition, is of recent origin, and superseded the more homely one of the Paunch Market; and there is no evidence in its favour sufficient to overturn the statement of Maitland, who wrote at a period when there was less temptation to invent traditions than now. The ancient tenement, however, was evidently one of unusual magnificence. Several large portions of very richly carved oak pannelling were removed from it at the time of its demolition, the style of which leaves little doubt of their being fully as old as the date of the Queen Regent's abode in Leith;¹ and its walls were decorated with well executed paintings, some of which are said to have had the appearance of considerable antiquity.² The house was highly decorated on the exterior with sculptured dormer windows and other ornaments common to the buildings of the period; and the oak window frames were richly carved in the style so frequently described among the features of our earlier domestic architecture. Many such are still to be met with about Leith, carved in different styles, according to the period of their execution; the most common ornament on those of later date being the *egg and arrow*.

Frequent mention is made by early historians of the King's Work, an extensive building that appears to have occupied the whole ground between the Broad Wynd and Bernard Street. The exact purpose for which it was maintained is not clearly defined in any of the early allusions, but it probably included an arsenal, with warehouses, and resident officials, for storing the goods and managing the revenues of the port. This idea is confirmed by the *reddendum* in the charter, by which James VI. afterwards conferred it on a favourite attendant, viz. that he was to keep one of the cellars in the King's Work in repair for holding wines and other provisions for his Majesty's use.³ That some funds

¹ Now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq.

² Campbell's History of Leith, p. 314.

³ Arnot, p. 572.

were derivable from it to the Crown is proved by the frequent payments with which it was burdened by different monarchs, as in the year 1477, when King James III. granted out of it a perpetual annuity of twelve merks Scots, for support of a chaplain to officiate at the altar of the upper chapel, in the Collegiate Church of the blessed Virgin Mary which he had founded at Restalrig. The King's Work was advantageously placed at the mouth of the harbour, so as to serve as a defence against any enemy that might approach it by sea. That it partook of the character of a citadel or fortification, seems to be implied by an infestment granted by Queen Mary in 1564 to John Chisholme, who is there designated comptroller of artillery. The ancient buildings had shared in the general conflagration which signalized the departure of the army of Henry VIII. in 1544, and they would appear to have been re-built by Chisholme in a style of substantial magnificence. The following are the terms in which the Queen confirms her former grant to the comptroller of artillery on his completion of the work :—" Efter hir hienes lauchfull age, and revocation made in parliament, hir majeste sett in feu farme to hir lovite suitoure Johnne Chisholme, his airis and asignais, all and haille hir landis, callet the King's Werk in Leith, within the boundis specifit in the infestment, maid to him thairupon, quhilkis than war alluterlie decayit, and sensyne are reparit and reedifit be the said Johnne Chisholme, to be policy and great decoratioun of this realme, in that oppin place and sight of all strangearis and utheris resort-and at the schore of Leith." The property of the King's Work remained vested in the Crown, notwithstanding the terms of this royal grant. In 1575, we find it converted into an hospital for the reception of those who recovered from the plague, and in 1613 it was bestowed by James VI. on his favourite *chamber-child*, or groom of the chamber, Bernard Lindsay of Lochill, by a royal grant which empowered him to keep four taverns therein. A part of it was then fitted up as a Tennis Court for the favourite pastime of catchpel, and continued to be used for this purpose till the year 1649, when it was taken possession of by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and converted into the Weigh House of the burgh. The locality retained the name of *Bernard's Nook*, derived from its occupation by the royal servitor; and that of Bernard Street, which is now conferred on the broad thoroughfare that leads eastward from the Shore, still preserves a memorial of the favourite chamber-child of James VI. A large stone pannel which bears the date 1650—the year immediately succeeding the appropriation of the King's Work to civic purposes,—appears on the north gable of the old Weigh House now occupying its site, with the curious device of a rainbow carved in bold relief, springing at either end from a bank of clouds.

The chief thoroughfare which leads in the same direction, and the one we presume which superseded the Burgess Close as the principal approach to the harbour, is the Tolbooth Wynd, where the ancient town-hall stood: a singularly picturesque specimen of the tolbooth of an old Scottish burgh. It was built by the citizens of Leith in the year 1565, though not without the strenuous opposition of their jealous over-lords of the Edinburgh Council, who threw every impediment in their way; until at length Queen Mary, after repeated remonstrances, wrote to the Provost and Magistrates :—" We charge zow that ze permitoure Inhabitants ofoure said toun of Leith, to big and edifieoure said Hous of Justice, withinoure said Toun of Leith, and mak na stop nor impediment to thame to do the samyn, for it isoure will that the samyn be biggit, and that ze disist fra further molest-

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ANCIENT SIGNAL TOWER.

TOLBOOTH WYND, LEITH.

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ing of them in tyme cuming as ze will anser to us thairupon."¹ This royal mandate, which was subscribed at Holyrood Palace on the 1st of March 1563, appears to have had the desired effect, as an ornamental tablet in the upper part of the building had the Scottish Arms, boldly sculptured, with two unicorns for supporters, and the inscription and date in large Roman characters—IN DEFENCE, M. R., 1565. Soon after the demolition of the Heart of Mid-Lothian, the doom of the ancient Tolbooth of Leith was pronounced, and plans procured for a new court-house and prison. Great exertions were then used by several zealous antiquaries, and particularly by Sir Walter Scott and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., to induce the Magistrates of Edinburgh, under whose authority the work proceeded, to preserve the picturesque and venerable façade, while the remainder of the building could be demolished and rebuilt according to the proposed plan. The proposition was treated with the usual good taste of our civic reformers. A deputation who waited on my Lord Provost to urge their petition, were cavalierly dismissed with the unanswerable argument, that the expense of new designs had already been incurred; and so the singular old house of justice of Queen Mary was replaced by the common-place erection that now occupies its site.

Near the top of the Tolbooth Wynd, an ancient signal tower stands, which is represented in the accompanying engraving. It is furnished with little port holes at the top, resembling those designed for musketry in our old Border peel towers and fortalices, but which were constructed here, we presume, for the more peaceful object of watching the owners' merchant vessels as they entered the Firth. An unusually striking piece of sculpture, in very bold relief, occupies a large pannel over the archway leading into the courtyard behind. It bears the date 1678, and, amongst sundry other antique objects, the representation of a singularly rude specimen of mechanical ingenuity. This consists of a crane, the whole machinery of which is comprised in one large drum or broad wheel, made to revolve like the wire cylinder of a squirrel's cage, by a poor labourer who occupies the quadruped's place, and clammers up, Sisyphus-like, in his endless treadmill. The perspective, with the grouping and proportions of the whole composition, form altogether an amusing and curious sample of both the mechanical and the fine arts of the seventeenth century.

At the foot of the Tolbooth Wynd, the good Abbot Ballantyne, who presided over the Monastery of Holyrood during the closing years of the fifteenth century, caused a handsome stone bridge of three arches to be erected over the Water of Leith, and soon after its completion, he built and endowed a chapel at the north end of the bridge, and dedicated it to the honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and St Ninian. The Abbot appears to have had considerable possessions in Leith. He appointed two chaplains to officiate, who were yearly to receive all the profits arising out of a house erected by the founder at the southern end of the Bridge of Leith, with four pounds yearly out of his lands or tenements in South Leith. In addition to the offerings made in the chapel, the tolls or duties accruing from the new bridge were to be employed in repairing the chapel, bridge, and tenement, and the surplus given to the poor. This charter of foundation was confirmed by James IV. on the 1st of January 1493.² St Ninian's Chapel was built with the con-

¹ Maitland, p. 25.

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² Maitland, p. 497.

sent of the Chapter of Holyrood Abbey, and the approbation of William, Archbishop of St Andrew's; and the ground on which it and the neighbouring tenements were erected is styled in a charter of Queen Mary, dated 1569, "The liberty of the north side of the Water of Leith, commonly called *Rudeside*;" an epithet evidently resulting from its dependency on the Abbey of the Holyrood. St Ninian's Chapel still occupies its ancient site on the banks of the Water of Leith, but very little of the original structure of the good Abbot remains; probably no more than a small portion of the basement wall on the north side, where a small doorway appears with an elliptical arch, now built up, and partly sunk in the ground. The remainder of the structure cannot be earlier than the close of the sixteenth century, and the date on the steeple, which closely resembles that of the old Tron Church destroyed in the great fire of 1824, is 1675. A large sculptured lintel, belonging to the latter edifice, has been rebuilt into a more modern addition, erected apparently in the reign of Queen Anne. It bears on it the following inscription in large Roman characters:—BLESSÉD . AR . THEY . YAT . HEIB . YE . VORD . OF . GOD . AND . KEEP . IT . LVK . XI . 1600. By the charter of Queen Mary, which confirmed the rights that had been purchased by the inhabitants from Lord Holyroodhouse, the Chapel of St Ninian was erected into a church for the district of North Leith, and endowed with sundry annual rents, and other ecclesiastical property, including the neighbouring Chapel and Hospital of St Nicolas, and their endowments. An Act of Parliament was obtained in 1606, creating North Leith a separate and independent parish, and appointing the chapel to be called in all time coming the "parish Kirk of Leith benorth the brig."

The celebrated George Wishart—well-known as the author of the elegant Latin memoirs of Montrose, which were suspended to the neck of the illustrious cavalier when he was executed,—was minister of this parish in the year 1638, when the signing of the Covenant became the established test of faith and allegiance in Scotland. He was soon afterwards deposed for refusing to subscribe, and was thrown into one of the dungeons of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in consequence of the discovery of his correspondence with the Royalists. Wishart survived the stormy revolution that followed, and shared in the sunshine of the Restoration. He was preferred to the see of Edinburgh on the re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, and died there in 1671, in his seventy-first year. He was buried in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, where a long and flattering Latin inscription recorded the whole biography of that *celebris doctor Sophocardius*, as he is styled, according to the scholastic punning of that age. The last minister who officiated in the ancient Chapel of St Ninian, was the benevolent and venerable Dr Johnston, the founder of the Edinburgh Blind Asylum, who held the incumbency for upwards of half a century. The foundation of the new parish church of North Leith had been laid so early as 1814, and at length in 1826 its venerable predecessor was finally abandoned as a place of worship, and soon after converted into a granary. "Thus," says the historian of Leith, with indignant pathos, "that edifice which had for upwards of 330 years been devoted to the sacred purposes of religion, is now the unhallowed repository of pease and barley!"

The Hospital and Chapel of St Nicolas, with the neighbouring cemetery, were most probably founded at a later date than Abbot Ballantyne's Chapel, as the reasons assigned by the founder for the building of the latter seem to imply that the inhabitants were without any accessible place of worship. Nothing, however, is now known of their origin, and

every vestige of them was swept away by General Monk when constructing the Citadel of Leith, soon after Cromwell took possession of the town.¹

The fortifications which were reared under the directions of the republican General, are thus described in the Itinerary of the learned John Ray, who visited Scotland in 1661:—“At Leith we saw one of those citadels, built by the Protector, one of the best fortifications that ever we beheld, passing fair and sumptuous. There are three forts advanced above the rest, and two platforms; the works round about are faced with freestone towards the ditch, and are almost as high as the highest buildings within, and withal thick and substantial. Below are very pleasant, convenient, and well-built houses, for the governor, officers, and soldiers, and for magazines and stores. There is also a good capacious chapel, the piazza, or void space within, as large as Trinity College [Cambridge] great court.” This valuable stronghold, which was reared at the cost of upwards of £100,000 sterling, fell a sacrifice, soon after the Restoration, to the cupidity of the Monarch, and the narrow-minded jealousy of the Town Council of Edinburgh. It was demolished, and its materials sold.² We have given, in a previous chapter, a view of the only fragment of it that still remains; and have there pointed out how extensive have been the encroachments effected on the old sea beach of late years. Not only can citizens remember when the spray of the sea billows was dashed by the east wind against the last relic of the Citadel that now stands so remote from the rising tide, but it is only about sixty years since a ship was wrecked upon the adjoining beach, and went to pieces there, while its bowsprit kept beating against the walls of the Citadel, at every surge of the rolling waves that forced it higher on the strand.³

Of the earlier fortifications of the town of Leith scarcely a fragment now remains, although they were unquestionably of a much more substantial nature than either of the walls that were constructed for the defence of the neighbouring capital. The capabilities of Leith as a stronghold, which could command a ready intercourse with friendly allies even when assailed by a hostile army, were first perceived by Monsieur D'Esse, the French General, who arrived in the Firth of Forth in the summer of 1548, bringing powerful reinforcements to the aid of the Queen Regent against the English invaders.⁴ Under the direction of the French General the port of Leith was speedily inclosed within formidable ramparts, constructed according to the most approved principles of military science then known on the Continent; as was proved by their successful defence during the siege of 1560, when the ramparts reared to repel an invading army came, under the strange vicissitudes of civil war, to be maintained by foreign arms against the whole native force, mustered, with more alacrity than skill, by the Lords of the CONGREGATION. A large and strong bastion, which bore the name of Ramsay's Fort, was constructed immediately to the north of the King's Work, at the foot of Bernard Street, for the defence of the harbour; from thence the ramparts extended, in a south-easterly direction, to the site now occupied by the Exchange buildings, where the remains of the second bastion existed about forty

¹ Ante, vol. i. p. 97.

² “The Council unanimously understood, that the Kirk of the Citadell, [of Leith,] and all that is therein, both timber, seats, steeple, stone, and glasswork, be made use of and used to the best avail for reparation of the Hospital Chapel, and ordains the Treasurer of the Hospital to see the samen done with all conveniency.” Excerpt from the records of Heriot's Hospital. April 7, 1673.

³ Campbell's Hist. of Leith, p. 303.

⁴ Ante, vol. i. p. 53.

years since. These consisted of a narrow mound of earth of considerable height, which stood on the outskirts of the open common or Links of Leith, from the top of which a beautiful and extensive view was commanded on every side. There was an ascent to these remains of the ancient bastion by means of a flight of stone stairs; and from the promenade being long a favourite resort on account of the view which it afforded, it was generally known by the name of the "Lady's Walk." From this point the walls extended nearly in a line with Constitution Street, diverging on either side towards the central bastion of the east wall, which projected considerably beyond the others, and crossing the line of street obliquely towards the south-west corner of St Mary's Church-yard. The chief gate of the town was St Anthony's Port, where the walls intersected the Kirkgate; and beyond this point no vestige of them has remained since the middle of the sixteenth century, although they extended thence to the river, and were continued on the opposite side, so as to enclose the more modern suburb that formed the nucleus of North Leith. No sooner was the treaty concluded which put an end to the siege of Leith, in 1560, than the fortifications that had been reared with so much labour and skill were ordered to be razed to the ground; the Council of the kingdom and the Magistrates of Edinburgh being too keenly impressed with a sense of their mischievous effects in the hands of an enemy, to appreciate the value of a stronghold as one of the keys of the kingdom, which had baffled the united forces of England and Scotland to compel its surrender. The following is the order of the Council, issued at Edinburgh the 2d July 1560, commanding their immediate demolition:—"Forsameikle as it is noturlie knawyn how hurtful the fortifications of Leith hes bene to this haille realme, and in speciale to the townes next adjacent thairunto, and how prejudiciall the samen sall be to the libertie of this haille countrie in caiss straingears sall at any tyme hereafter intruse thameselfs thairin: For thir and siclyke considerations the counsall has thocht expedient, and chargis the provest, baillies, and counsall of Edinburgh, to tak order with the town and commentie of the samen, and causs and compell thame to appoint ane sufficient nomar to cast down and demolish the south pairt of the said town, begynand at Sanct Anthones Port, and passing westward to the Water of Leith, making the block-hous and courteine equal with the ground." In obedience to this order, the whole of the fortifications facing Edinburgh appear to have been immediately levelled with the ground. Those on the east, however, remained long after nearly entire. They are represented in a perfect state, extending uninterruptedly from Bernard's Nook to the point of intersection at the Kirkgate, in a plan of Leith by Captain Greenville Collins, dedicated to Sir James Fleming, who was Provost of Edinburgh in 1681; and considerable remains of them were only cleared away in opening up Constitution Street and the neighbouring approaches, about thirty years since.

To the westward of Leith lies the ancient village of Newhaven, or *Our Lady's Port of Grace*, as it was termed of old. It originated in the general impetus given to trade and commerce during the prosperous reign of James IV. Owing to the depth of water, a yard and dock were erected there for shipbuilding, and a harbour constructed for the reception of vessels, from whence it received the name of Newhaven. A chapel was soon afterwards erected, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St James; considerable remains of which may still be traced in the ancient cemetery of the village, consisting chiefly of rude but massive rubble walls. The jealousy of the citizens of Edinburgh, however, stepped in to

strangle in its birth the rising haven. They purchased the superiority of it from James V. ; and the Chapel of St James, which appears to have been a dependency of the Preceptory of St Anthony at Leith,¹ being suppressed at the Reformation, it sunk into the mere fishing village it still remains. The houses are mostly of a homely and uninteresting character, though on one near the west end of the village a large sculptured pediment is decorated with a pair of globes, a quadrant, anchor, &c., surmounted by a war-galley of antique form, and with the inscription and date,—IN THE NEAM OF GOD, 1588.

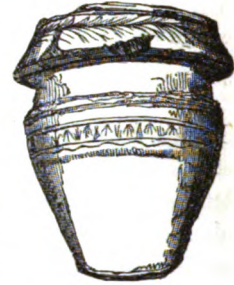
Notwithstanding the modern title of the New Town of Edinburgh, it is not altogether destitute of antique and curious associations deserving of notice in these Memorials of the olden time. It has not yet so completely swallowed up the ancient features of the broad landscape that stretched away of old beyond the sedgy banks of the North Loch, but that some few mementos of bygone times may still be gleaned amid its formal crescents and squares. In preparing the site of the New Town and digging the foundations of the houses, numerous very curious relics of the aboriginal owners of the soil have been brought to light. In the summer of 1822 an ancient grave was discovered by some workmen when digging the foundation of a house on the west side of the New Circus. Its position was due north and south, which is generally regarded as a proof of high antiquity. It was lined all round with flat stones, and the form of a skeleton was still discernable when opened, lying with the head to the south ; but the whole crumbled to dust so soon as it was touched. During the following year, 1823, several rude stone coffins were disclosed in digging the foundation of a house on the north side of Saxe-Coburg Place, near St Bernard's Chapel ; one of which contained two urns of baked clay, now preserved in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries. This was in all probability a burial-place of the period when the Romans had penetrated thus far northward ; and the Britons, in imitation of their example, adopted the practice of cremation, while they adhered to the ancient form of their sepulchres. A minute account is printed in the *Archæologia Scotica*² of the discovery, in 1822, of a number of stone coffins near the ancient Roman station at Cramond. They were of rude construction, and laid in regular rows, lying due east and west. A representation is also given of a key found in one of the coffins, not greatly differing in shape from those now in use. No mention, however, is made of urns, and it is probable that they belong to a more recent period, after the introduction of Christianity among the ancient Britons. Other stone coffins were discovered about the same time immediately opposite to St Mary's Church, in levelling the ground for the New Road ;³ and similar evidences of the occupation of the district by native tribes at a very remote period are frequently met with all round Edinburgh. Several such were found in 1846, along the coast of Wardie, in excavating for the foundations of one of the bridges of the Granton Railway. During some earlier operations for the same railway, on the 27th September 1844, a silver and copper coin of Philip II. of Spain, along with a quantity of human bones mingled with sand and shells, were discovered, apparently at a former level of the beach ; and which were supposed at the time to be a memento of some Spanish galleon of the Great Armada. Rude clay urns are also of

¹ "Rental Portus Gracie alias vocata lie New Havyne."—M.S. Ad. Lib. *Analysis of Chartularies*, J. G. Dalryell, Esq.

² *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii. p. 40.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 48.

frequent occurrence ; several such, filled with decayed and half burned bones, and ashes, were exhumed in digging for the foundation of the north pier of the Dean Bridge. They are very slightly burned, and the ornamental devices, which have been traced in the soft clay, bear a striking resemblance to those usually found on the fragments of ancient pottery which have been discovered in the Tumuli of the North American Continent. Annexed is a view of one of those discovered at the Dean, and now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries.



Another interesting feature which belongs to the history of the New Town, in common with many other cities, is the absorption of hamlets and villages that have sprung up at an early period in the neighbouring country and been gradually swallowed up within its extending outskirts. First among such to fall before the progress of the rising town, was the village of Moutrie's Hill, which stood on the site of the Register Office and James' Square, the highest ground in the New Town. This suburban hamlet is of great antiquity, and its etymology has been the source of some very curious research. Lord Hailes remarks on the subject, "*Moutrees* is supposed to be the corruption of two Gaelic words, signifying the covert or receptacle of the wild boar."¹ It appears, however, from contemporary notices, to have derived its name from being occupied by the mansion of the Moutrays, a family of distinction in the time of James V. A daughter of Alexander Stewart, designed of the Grenane, an ancestor of the Earls of Galloway, who fell at the battle of Flodden, was married in that reign to Moutray of Seafield.² Upon the 26th April 1572, while the whole country around Edinburgh was a desolate and bloody waste by reason of long protracted civil war, a party of the Regent Marr's soldiers, who had been disappointed in an ambuscade they had laid for seizing Lord Claud Hamilton, one of the opposite leaders, took five of their prisoners, lieutenant White, sergeant Smith, and three common soldiers, and hanged them immediately on their return to Leith. The leaders of the Queen's party in Edinburgh, retaliated by like barbarous executions, "and causit hang the morne their- after twa of thair souldiouris vpoun ane trie behind Movtrays Hous, in sicht of thair aduersaris, in lycht, quha hang ane day, and wer takin away in the nycht be the saidis aduersaris."³ Another annalist, who styles the locality "the Multrayes in the hill besyid the toun," adds, "The same nycht the suddartis of Leith come to the said hill and cuttit doun the deid men, and als distroyit the growand tries thairabout, quhairon the suddartis wer hangit. Thir warres wer callit among the peopill the Douglass wearres."⁴ Near to the scene of these barbarous acts of retaliation, on the ground now occupied by the buildings at the junction of Waterloo Place with Shakspeare Square, formerly stood an ancient stronghold called Dingwall Castle. It is believed to have derived its name from John Dingwall, who was Provost of the neighbouring Collegiate Foundation of Trinity College, and one of the original Judges of the Court of Session on the spiritual side. The ruins of the castle appear in Gordon of Rothiemay's map as a square keep with round towers at its angles ; and some fragments of it are believed to be still extant among the founda-

¹ Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 96.

² Wood's Peerage, vol. i. p. 618.

³ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 262.

⁴ Ibid, p. 294.

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tions of the buildings on its site. Near to this also there would appear to have been an hospital for lepers in early times, from an entry in the Council Records of 30th September 1584, where Michael Chisholm and others are commissioned to inquire into "the estait and ordour of the awld fundatioun of the Lipper-hous besyde Dyngwall." A rural mansion, which occupied in former days the north-eastern slope of Moutrie's Hill, still remains,—a curious waif surviving the radical changes that have transformed the silent fields in which it stood into long avenues of populous streets and squares. From its elevated position,—on the hill where the *Queen's men* hung up their adversaries as a point visible alike to Edinburgh and Leith,—it must have commanded a magnificent prospect of the Lothians and Fifeshire, with the Forth, the German Ocean, and the Highland Hills. Now it is buried among lofty tenements, in one of the most populous districts of the New Town, and with miles of streets and houses on every side interposing between it and the distant country. This nucleus of the New Town is not, however, the oldest building it contains. A small fragment of an ancient thoroughfare on the west side of the Register Office still retains the name of Gabriel's Road, although it has been closed for many years, and reduced to a mere passage leading to one or two private dwellings; a New Town *close*, in fact, somewhat worse than many of its defamed precursors of the Old Town. This mean looking alley is the remains of a country road, along which some venerable citizens still remember to have wended their way between green hedges that skirted the pleasant meadows and corn fields of Wood's farm, and which was, in days of yore, a favourite trysting place for lovers, where they breathed out their tender tale of passion beneath the fragrant hawthorn. It led in an oblique direction towards the ancient village of Silvermills, and its course is still indicated by the irregular slant of the garden walls that separate the little plots behind Duke Street from the East Queen Street garden.

When James Craig, the architect, a nephew of the Poet Thomson, published his engraved plan of the new city, which had been selected as the best from a host of competing designs, he appended to it the following lines from his uncle's poem:—

August, around, what Public Works I see!
Lo, stately streets! lo, squares that court the breeze!
See long canals and deepened rivers join
Each part with each, and with the circling main,
The whole entwined island.

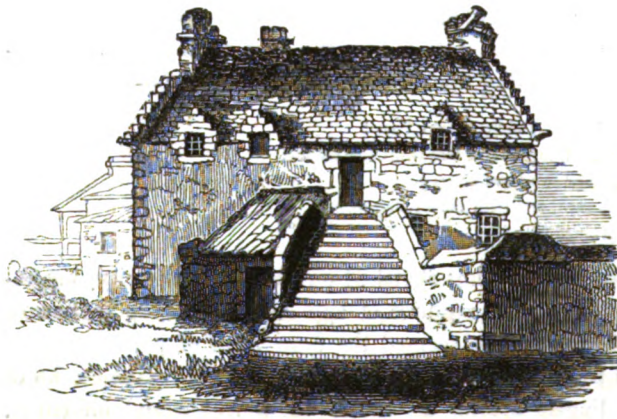
The regular array of formal parallelograms thus sketched out for the future city, was received by the denizens of the Old Town with raptures of applause. Pent up in narrow and crooked wynds, its broad, straight avenues, seemed the *beau ideal* of perfection, and the more sanguine of them panted to see the magnificent design realized. Some echo of their enthusiastic admiration still lingers among us, but it waxes feeble and indistinct. The most hearty contemners of the dingy, smoky, Old Town, now admit that neither the formal plan nor the architectural designs of the New Town, evince much intellect or inventive genius in their contriver; and, perhaps, even a professed antiquary may venture to hint at the wisdom of our ancestors, who carried their road obliquely down the steep northern slope, from Moutrie's Hill to Silvermills, instead of devising the abrupt precipitous descent from where the statue of George IV. now stands to the foot of Pitt Street; a steep which strikes a stranger with awe, not unmingled with fear, on his first

approach to our "Modern Athens" from the neighbouring coast. When, some two or three centuries hence, the New Town shall have ripened into fruit for some *twenty-second century Improvements Commission*, their first scheme will probably lead to the restoration of Gabriel's Road, and its counterpart from Charlotte Square to Pitt Street, marking the *saltier* of Scotland's patron saint on the antiquated parallelograms of James Craig!

The village of Silvermills, the remains of which lie concealed behind St Stephen's Church and the modern streets that surround it, may not improbably owe its origin to some of the alchemical projects of James IV. or V., both of whom were greatly addicted to the royal sport of hunting for the precious metals, with which the soil of Scotland was then believed to abound. Sir Archibald Napier, the father of the philosopher, was appointed master of the mint and superintendent of the mines and minerals within the kingdom; and we are assured, on the authority of an ancient manuscript in the Cotton Library, that "The Laird of Merchiston got gold in Pentland Hills."¹ The village of Silvermills consists almost entirely of a colony of tanners, but one or two of its houses present the crow-stepped gables of the seventeenth century; and though now enclosed within the extended town, we can remember many a Saturday's ramble through green fields that ended at this *rural hamlet*.

Another and more important village, which has experienced the same fate as that of Silvermills, is the ancient baronial burgh of Broughton. Its name occurs in the charter of foundation of Holyrood Abbey, granted by David I. in 1128, and implies, according to Maitland, the *Castle town*. If it ever possessed a fortalice or keep, from whence its name was derived, all vestiges of it had disappeared centuries before its fields were invaded by the extending capital. The Tolbooth, however, wherein the baron's courts were held, and

offenders secured to abide his judgment, or to endure its penalties, stood within these few years near the centre of the old village, bearing over its north door the date 1582. Its broad flight of steps was appropriately flanked with a venerable pair of stocks; a symbol of justice of rare occurrence in Scotland, where the *jougs* were the usual and more national mode of pillory. The annexed vignette will suffice to convey some idea



of this antique structure, which stood nearly in the centre of the New Town, on the ground now occupied by the east end of Barony Street, from whence it was only removed, with all its paraphernalia of obsolete manners and laws, in the year 1829. The curious

¹ *Miscellane Scotica*, Napier of Merchiston, p. 228.

VIGNETTE.—The Tolbooth, Broughton.

rambler may still stumble on one or two of the humble tenements of the old village, lying concealed among the back lanes of the modern town. A few years since, its rows of tiled and thatched cottages, with their rude fore-stairs and loop-hole windows, contrasted most strangely with the adjoining fashionable streets and squares.

This ancient barony and the surrounding lands comprehended within its jurisdiction, were granted by James VI. in 1568, to Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, in whose time the Tolbooth of the burgh appears to have been erected. The bishop surrendered the lands to the Crown in 1587, in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul, Lord Justice-Clerk; who obtained a charter from the King uniting them into a free barony and regality. Broughton is reputed to have been notorious in old times as a haunt of witches, who were frequently incarcerated in its Tolbooth. An execution of these victims of superstition which occurred there under peculiarly horrible circumstances, during the period of its possession by the Bellendens, is thus noticed in the minutes of the Scottish Privy Council:—"1608, December 1.—The Earl of Mar declared to the Council that some women were taken in Broughton as witches, and being put to an assize, and convicted, albeit they persevered constant in their denial to the end, yet they were burned quick, after such a cruel manner, that some of them died in despair, renouncing and blaspheming [God]; and others, half-burned, brak out of the fire, and were cast quick in it again, till they were burned to the death."¹ Sir William Bellenden, the grandson of Sir Lewis, disposed of the whole lands to Robert, Earl of Roxburgh, in 1627, and by an agreement between him and Charles I., this ancient barony passed by purchase to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital in 1636, to whom the superiority of Broughton was yielded by the Crown, partly in payment of debts due by Charles I. to the Hospital. Thenceforward the barony was governed by a bailiff nominated by the Governors of the Hospital, who possessed even the power of life and death, the privilege of *pit and gallows* which every feudal baron claimed within his own bounds. In 1721, the Treasurer of the Hospital complains of the expense incurred in prosecuting offenders in the case of some murders committed within the regality; but these onerous and costly privileges were at length abrogated in 1746, by the act abolishing heritable jurisdictions, and the Governors a few years afterwards granted the use of the Tolbooth to one of their tenants as a storehouse, "reserving to the Hospital a room for holding their baron courts when they shall think fit."² The last occasion on which Old Broughton was directly associated with any event of public importance, was during the memorable campaign of 1650, which preceded the battle of Dunbar, when General Leslie made it his head quarters, while he threw up the line of defence from the base of the Calton Hill to Leith, which we have already described as the origin of the great causeway that now forms the chief thoroughfare between Edinburgh and Leith.

Beyond the village of Broughton lies that of Canonmills, on the Water of Leith, which owes its origin to the same source as the Burgh of Canongate, having been founded by the Augustine Canons of Holyrood, doubtless for the use of their own vassals on the lands of Broughton, and their neighbouring possessions. Above this, on the Water of Leith, are the villages of Stockbridge, Bell's Mills, and the Dean, all of considerable antiquity, and now joined to the extended capital, or disappearing before the encroachments of its

¹ Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, Sir Walter Scott, p. 315.

² Dr Steven's History of Heriot's Hospital, pp. 118, 119.

modern streets. King David I. grants to the Abbey of Holyrood, in its foundation charter, one of his mills of Dean, with the tenths of his mills of Liberton and Dean; and although all that now remains of the villages of Bell's Mills and the Dean are of a much more recent date, they still retain unequivocal evidences of considerable antiquity. Dates and inscriptions, with crow-stepped gables and other features of the 17th century, are to be found scattered among the more modern tenements, and it was only in the year 1845, that the curious old mansion of the Dean was demolished for the purpose of converting the Deanhaugh into a public cemetery. This was another of those fine old aristocratic dwellings that once abounded in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, but which are now rapidly disappearing, like all its other interesting memorials of former times. It was a monument of the Nisbets of the Dean, a proud old race that are now extinct. They had come to be the head of their house, as Nisbet relates with touching pathos, owing to the failure of the Nisbets of that Ilk in his own person, and as such "laid aside the Cheveron, a mark of cadency used formerly by the House of Dean, in regard that the family of Dean is the only family of that name in Scotland that has right, by consent, to represent the old original family of the name of Nisbet, since the only lineal male representer, the author of this system, is like to go soon off the world, being an old man, and without issue male or female."¹ The earliest notice in the Minutes of Presbytery of St Cuthberts, of the purchase of a piece of family burying-ground, is by Sir William Nisbet of Dean, in March 1645, the year of the plague. "They grantit him ane place at the north church door, eastward, five elnes of lenth, and thrie elnes of bredth."² It appears to have been the piece of ground in the angle formed by the north transept and the choir of the ancient Church of St Cuthbert; and the vault which he erected there still remains, surmounted with his arms; a memorial alike of the demolished fane and the extinct race. When we last saw it, the old oak door was broken in, and the stair that led down to the chamber of the dead choked up with rank nettles and hemlock;—the fittest monument that could be devised for the old Barons of the Dean, the last of them now gathered to his fathers.

The old mansion-house had on a sculptured stone over the east doorway the date 1614, but other parts of the building bore evident traces of an earlier date. The large gallery had an arched ceiling, painted in the same style as one already described in Blyth's Close, some portions of which had evidently been copied in its execution. The subjects were chiefly sacred, and though rudely executed in distemper, had a bold and pleasing effect when seen as a whole. One of the pannels, now in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., bears the date 1627. The dormer windows, and principal doorways, were richly decorated with sculptured devices, inscriptions, and armorial bearings, illustrative of the successive alliances of its owners; many of which have been preserved in the boundary walls of the cemetery that now occupies its site. The most curious of these are two pieces of sculpture in *basso relievo*, which surmounted two of the windows on the south front. On one of them a judge is represented, seated on a throne, with a lamb in his arms; in his left hand he holds a drawn sword resting on his shoulder, and in his right hand a pair of scales. Two lions

¹ Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. part 4. p. 32. Alexander Nisbet, Gent., published the first volume of his system of heraldry in 1722; his death took place shortly afterwards.—Vide, Preface to 2d Edition Fol.

² History of the West Kirk, p. 24.

rampant stand on either side, as if contending litigants for the poor lamb; the one of them resting his fore paw on the sword, and the other placing his paw in one of the scales. On the other sculptured pediment a man is seen armed with a thick pole, with a hook at the end, by which he grasps it; a goat, as it seems, is running towards him, as if butting at him, while a bear seizes it by the waist with his teeth, and another is lying dead beyond. The Hope's arms are sculptured on the former pediment, underneath the singular piece of sculpture we have described,—which occupies the upper part of a pointed arch,—so that it is not improbable that the curious scene of the judge determining the plea between the lions and the lamb, may refer to a family alliance with the great Lord Advocate; though the key to the ingenious allegory has perished with the last of their race.

On the south side of the ancient Burgh of Broughton, and nearly on the site of the present broad street called Picardy Place, there existed till near the close of last century a small village or hamlet called Picardy, which was occupied exclusively by a body of weavers who are said to have been brought over from the French province of that name by the British Linen Company, and settled there for the improvement of their manufactures.¹ We have found, however, in a copy of Lord Hailes' Annals, a manuscript note, apparently written while this little community of foreign artizans were still industriously plying their looms, in which they are described as a body of French refugees, who fled to this country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, and settling on the open common that then lay between Broughton and the old capital, they attempted to establish a silk manufactory. A large plantation of mulberry trees is said to have been laid out by them on the slope of Moutrie's Hill, and other provision made for carrying on the whole operations of the silk manufacture there. It is well known, that about 50,000 French refugees fled to England at that period, the majority of whom settled at Spitalfield, while the remainder scattered themselves over the kingdom. To a body of these unfortunate wanderers the hamlet of Picardy most probably owed its origin. The failure of their mulberry plantations here, as in other parts of the kingdom, no doubt compelled them to abandon their project; and their experience was probably afterwards made use of in the weaving of linen, on the institution of a company for the encouragement of its manufacture in 1746. Since then this chartered body has devoted its large capital exclusively to the purposes of banking; and it is now one of the most wealthy and influential banking companies of Scotland.

One other locality of considerable interest in the same neighbourhood is the low valley of Greenside, which skirts the northern base of the Calton Hill. Though now exclusively occupied by workshops and manufactories, or by modern dwellings of a very humble character, it formed in ancient times a place of considerable importance. It was bestowed on the citizens by James II., as an arena for holding tournaments and the like martial sports of the age; and according to Pennant, it continued to be used for such feats of arms even in the reign of Queen Mary. Here, he relates, during a public tournament, "the Earl of Bothwell made the first impression on the susceptible heart of Mary Stuart, having galloped into the ring down the dangerous steep of the adjacent hill."² The rude Earl, however, trusted as little to feats of gallantry as to love for the achievement of his unscrupulous aims; and this may rank among the many spurious traditions which the popular

¹ Walks in Edinburgh, p. 217.

² Pennant's Tour, vol. i., p. 70.

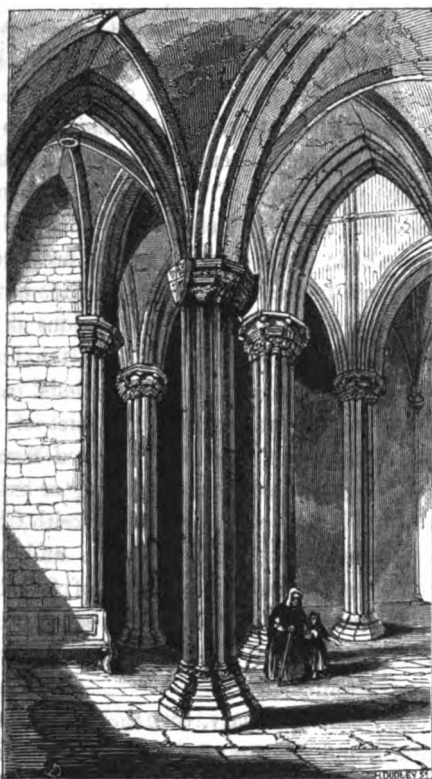
interest in the Scottish Queen has given rise to. A chapel dedicated to the Holy Rood stood in the valley of Greenside at a remote period, and served, in the year 1518, as the nucleus of one of the very latest foundations of a monastic institution in Scotland prior to the Reformation; but we leave the history of the ancient religious and benevolent foundations of this locality for the next chapter. During the present century, it was destined for a very different purpose. When the Union Canal was first projected, its plans included the continuation of it through the bed of the North Loch, where the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway now runs. From thence it was proposed to conduct it to Greenside, in the area of which an immense harbour was to have been constructed; and this again being connected by a broad canal with the sea, it was expected that by such means the New Town would be converted into a seaport, and the unhappy traders of Leith compelled either to abandon their traffic, or remove within the precincts of their jealous rivals. Chimerical as this project may now appear, designs were furnished by experienced engineers, a map of the whole plan was engraved on a large scale, and no doubt our civic reformers rejoiced in the anticipation of surmounting the disadvantages of an inland position, and seeing the shipping of the chief ports of Europe crowding into the heart of their new capital!

Of the memorials of the New Town, properly so called, very few fall legitimately within the plan of this work; yet even its modern streets possess some interesting associations that we would not willingly forego. We have already referred to the house which forms the junction with St Andrew Square and St David Street, as the last residence of the celebrated philosopher and historian, David Hume; where that strange death-bed scene occurred, which has been the subject of such varied comments both by the eulogists and detractors of the great sceptic. Directly opposite to Hume's house, on the north side of the square, is the house in which Henry Brougham was born. At that period St Andrew Square contained the residences of several noblemen, and was deemed the most fashionable quarter of the rising town. The house on the same side at the corner of St Andrew Street, was the mansion of David Steuart Earl of Buchan, and possesses some claim to our interest as the place where the Society of Scottish Antiquaries was instituted in 1780, and where its earliest meetings were held.¹ Within the first eastern division of George Street, the eye of the modern visitor is attracted by the lofty and magnificent portico of the Commercial Bank, a building that seems destined to attest for ages the skill and taste, if not the inventive genius, of our native architects; yet it occupies the site of the Physician's Hall, a chaste Grecian edifice designed by Craig, the foundation stone of which was laid by the celebrated Dr Cullen, in 1774, doubtless with the belief that remote ages might bring to light the memorials which were then buried in its foundations. Nor must we omit to notice the favourite dwelling of Sir Walter Scott, in North Castle Street,—“*The dear thirty-nine,*” which he left under such mournful circumstances in 1826. The New Town of Edinburgh has already many such associations with names eminent in literature and science, some of which, at least, will command the interest of other generations. Our Memorials, however, are of the olden time, and we leave future chroniclers to record those of the modern city.

¹ Paton's Correspondence, pp. 170-172.

CHAPTER XI.

ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES.



NEXT to the Castle of Edinburgh, the ancient Parish Church of St Giles, and the Abbey of Holyrood, form the most prominent objects of interest in the history of the capital. The existence of the first parish church of Edinburgh is traced to the second century after the death of its tutelar saint, the Abbot and Confessor St Giles, who was born in Greece, of illustrious parentage, in the sixth century, and afterwards abandoning his native land, and bestowing his wealth on the poor, retired into the wilderness of Languedoc, and founded the celebrated monastery, which long after bore his name. To some wandering brother from the banks of the Rhone, we probably owe the dedication of the ancient Parish Church of Edinburgh to St Giles, a favourite saint who owes his honours in the southern capital to Matilda, the Queen of Henry I. of England, and daughter of St Margaret, Queen of Malcolm Canmore, who founded there St Giles's Hos-

pital, for lepers, in 1117. The Bishopric of Lindisfarn, which comprehended Edinburgh, dates so early as A.D. 635, and Simeon of Durham, in reckoning the churches and towns belonging to the see in the year 854, mentions *Edwinsburgh* among the latter.¹ We can only infer the existence of the church, however, from this notice, as it is not directly mentioned, nor can we discover its name in any authentic record till the reign of Alexander II.,—who succeeded his father, William the Lion, in 1214,—when Baldredus, Deacon of Lothian, and John, Perpetual Vicar of the Church of St Giles, at Edinburgh, affix their seals in attestation of a copy of certain papal bulls and other charters of the Church of *Megginsche*,

¹ Maitland, p. 270.

VIGNETTE.—Chapel of Robert, Duke of Albany, St Giles's Church.

one of the dependencies of the Abbey of Holyrood.¹ It is again mentioned in an act of the reign of Robert the Bruce, dated 1319, wherein the Bishop of St Andrews confirms numerous gifts bestowed at various times on the Abbey and its dependencies. One of these is a gift of all her possessions made by the Lady Donoca, with the consent of her husband and son, in presence of a full consistory held at Edinburgh in St Giles's Church on the Sunday before the Feast of St Thomas, in the year 1293.² Still later we find evidence of additions to the original foundation, in 1359, when David II., by a charter under his great seal, confirmed to the chaplain officiating at the altar of St Katherine's Chapel in the Parish Church of St Giles, all the lands of Upper Merchiston, the gift of Roger Hog, burgess of Edinburgh. There can be no question, however, of its existence at a much earlier date, as is proved by some of its original architectural features, described hereafter, of which we possess authentic evidence. The Collegiate Church of St Giles, as it now stands, is a building including the work of many different periods, and though no part of its architecture indicates an earlier date than the fourteenth century, its walls probably include masonry of a much more remote era. The prevalence of Norman remains among such of the ancient parish churches of Mid-Lothian as still retain any of their original masonry, proves that a very general impetus had been given to ecclesiastical architecture about the period of the founding of Holyrood Abbey, in the 12th century. This entirely accords with what is usually found in the architectural chronology of any populous district in the neighbourhood of an important ecclesiastical foundation; and, indeed, the history of the erection of St Giles's Church is almost entirely comprised in three periods, each of which was marked by the founding of other ecclesiastical buildings. The first of these is the early part of the 12th century, when the example of David I., derived from his experience at the splendid court of Henry I. of England, led to the founding or enlargement of numerous religious houses. The next is 1380,—soon after which Dalkeith Church was founded,—when numerous chapels were added to the parish church; and again, during a succession of years ending in 1462,—the year in which the charter of foundation of Trinity Collegiate Church is dated,—when the choir of St Giles's Church seems to have been enlarged and completed in its present form; in anticipation, no doubt, of its erection into a collegiate church, which took place a few years thereafter.

It must be a subject of unfeeling regret to every true antiquary, that the recent restoration of St Giles's Church was conducted in so rash and irreverent a spirit, in consequence of which so many of its peculiar features have disappeared, along with nearly all those traces of its adaptation to the ceremonial of Roman Catholic worship which had escaped the rude hands of the equally irreverent, but far more pardonable, Reformers of the sixteenth century. Had its restoration been delayed even for a few years, the increasing study of Gothic architecture, which is already so widely diffused, would in all probability have secured the preservation of much that is now beyond recall. All that can now be done is to endeavour to convey to the reader such idea of the original edifice, and of the successive alterations and additions that it had received, as seemed to be indicated by the building previous to its remodelling in 1829.

Edinburgh, in the reign of David I. and long afterwards, was, as we have already shown,

¹ *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, p. 55.

² *Ibid.* p. 81.

no more than an assemblage of rude huts, constructed in full anticipation of their falling a prey to the torch of the southern invaders. Froissart represents the Scots exclaiming more than two centuries later, "though the Englishe brinne our houses we care lytell therefore; we shall make them agayne chepe ynough!" Nevertheless it is to David I. that Edinburgh owes its earliest improvement and much of its future prosperity. He was the first monarch who made the Castle of Edinburgh his chief residence; and by his munificent monastic foundation in its neighbourhood he made it the centre towards which the wealth of the adjacent country flowed, and thereby erected it into the capital of the Lothians centuries before it assumed its position as the capital of the kingdom. It cannot therefore surprise us to discover evidence of the rebuilding of the Parish Church of Edinburgh about the period of his accession to the throne; and we accordingly find that some beautiful remains of the original edifice, somewhat earlier in style than the oldest portions of the Abbey Church of Holyrood, were only destroyed about the middle of last century.

The annexed vignette, copied from a very rare print, represents a beautiful Norman doorway which formed the entrance to the nave of St Giles's Church on the north side, and was only demolished about the year 1760. It stood immediately below the third window from the west, within the line of the external wall. A plain round archway that had given access to it was obliterated in the recent alterations.

This fragment sufficiently enables us to picture the little parish church of St Giles in the reign of David I. Built in the massive style of the early Norman period, it would consist simply of a nave and chancel, united by a rich Norman chancel arch; altogether occupying only a portion of the centre aisle of the present nave. Small circular-headed windows, decorated with zig-zag mouldings, would admit the light to its sombre interior; while its west front was in all probability surmounted by a simple belfry, from whence the bell would daily summon the natives of the hamlet to matins and vespers, and with slow measured sounds toll their knell as they were laid in the neighbouring church-yard.



This ancient church was never entirely demolished. Its solid masonry was probably very partially affected by the ravages of the invading forces of Edward II., in 1322, when Holyrood was spoiled; or by those of his son in 1335, when the whole country was wasted with fire and sword. The town was again subjected to the like violence, probably with results little more lasting, by the conflagration in 1385, when the English army under Richard II. occupied the town for five days, and then laid it and the Abbey of Holyrood in ashes. The Norman architecture disappeared piece-meal, as chapels and aisles were added to the original fabric by the piety of private donors, or by the zeal of its own clergy to adapt it to the wants of the rising town. In all the changes that it underwent for above seven centuries, the original north door, with its beautifully recessed Norman arches and grotesque decorations, always commanded the veneration of

the innovators, and remained as a precious relic of the past, until the tasteless improvers of the eighteenth century demolished it without a cause, and probably for no better reason than to evade the cost of its repair.

As the population of the town increased, and it advanced in wealth and importance, altars and chapels were founded and endowed by its own citizens, or by some of the eminent Scottish ecclesiastics who latterly resided in Edinburgh; so that St Giles's had increased to a wealthy corporation, with numerous altarages and chaplainries, previous to its erection into a collegiate church by the charter of James III. in 1466. As usual with all large churches, St Giles's presented internally the form of a cross, with the central tower placed at the junction of the nave and choir with the transepts. Externally, however, this had almost entirely disappeared, owing to the numerous chapels and aisles added at various dates, and it has only been restored by sacrificing some of the most interesting and unique features of the ancient building. Previous to the alterations of 1462, notwithstanding the general enlargement of the church by the addition of one or more rows of chapels on either side of the nave, no portion of the central building appears to have been elevated into a clerestory; and in the nave this addition forms one of the modern alterations effected in 1829. Before that recent remodelling, the nave was only elevated a few feet higher than the aisles, and was finished in the same style in which the north aisle still remains, with a neat but simple groining springing from the capitals of the pillars, and decorated with sculptured bosses at the intersections. The south aisle of the nave is evidently the work of a later date. The rich groining and form of its vaulting afford an interesting subject of study for the architectural chronologist, when compared with the simpler design of the north aisle. We may conclude, with little hesitation, from the style of the former, that it was rebuilt in 1387, along with the five chapels to the south of it, described hereafter; and, indeed, the construction of the light and beautiful shafts from which their mutual vaultings spring, almost necessarily involved the demolition of the old aisle. Over the vaulted roof of the centre aisle, in the space now occupied by the clerestory, a rude attic was erected, which included several apartments, latterly used as the residence of the bell-ringer Mitchell, with his wife and family, who ascended to their elevated abode by the antique turnpike that formerly rose into an octagonal pointed roof of curious stonework, near the central tower. The arches of the tower still remain to show the original height of the nave; and a careful inspection of the choir proves, beyond all doubt, that it underwent a similar alteration, by the construction of a clerestory, at the same time that it was lengthened, by the addition of the two eastmost arches, about the middle of the fifteenth century.¹ In some of the larger Gothic churches, the architects are found to have ingeniously aided the perspective of "the long drawn aisles," by diminishing the breadth of the arches as they approach the east end of the choir, where the high altar stood, thereby adding to its apparent extent. In St Giles's Church, however, the opposite is found to be the case. The two eastmost arches are wider and loftier than the others. The pillars are decorated with foliated capitals, elaborately finished with sculptured shields and angels' heads; the shafts are fluted according to a regular and beautiful

¹ The choir was probably lengthened only to the extent of one arch; but the removal of the east wall would necessarily involve the rebuilding of the second.

design, and their bases are enriched with foliated sculpture; while the other pillars of the choir are plain octagons, with their capitals formed by a few simple mouldings. The arching and groining, moreover, of this extended portion of the aisles entirely differs from the western and earlier part; for whereas the latter are formed of concentric arches springing from four sides and meeting in one keystone, so that the top of the windows can reach no higher than the spring of the arch, the former is constructed on the more usual plan of a groined roof, running across the aisle, and admitting of the two eastmost windows on each side rising nearly to the top of the arch. No less obvious proofs are discoverable of the addition of the clere story at the same period. There are flaws remaining in the lower part of its walls, marking distinctly how far the old work has been taken down. A slight inclination outward, in part of the wall immediately above the pillars, shows that the roof of the choir had corresponded in height with the old nave; and portions of the original groining springing from the capitals of the pillars still remain, only partially chiselled away. The extreme beauty of the clere story groining, and its remarkably rich variety of bosses, all furnish abundant evidence of its being the work of a later age than the other parts of the building. On the centre boss, at the division of the two eastmost compartments of the ceiling, is the monogram **IHS**, boldly cut on a large shield; and on the one next to it westward, the following legend is neatly arranged round a carved centre in bold relief:—**Ave . gra . pla . dns . tecu**.—an abbreviation evidently of the salutation of the Virgin,—*Ave Maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum*,—though from its height, and the contractions necessary to bring it within such circumscribed dimensions, it is not easily decyphered. These, it is probable, stood directly over the site of the high altar, which does not appear to have been removed from its original position at the east end of the old choir upon its enlargement and elongation in the fifteenth century, as we find that Walter Bertrame, burgess of Edinburgh, by a charter dated December 20, 1477, founded a chaplainry at “the Altar of St Francis, situate behind the Great Altar,” and endowed it with various annual rents from property in Edinburgh and Leith.¹

Another striking feature of the additions made to St Giles's Church in the fifteenth century, is the numerous heraldic devices introduced among the ornaments, which afford striking confirmation as to the period when they were executed. The north-east, or King's Pillar, as it is generally called, of which we have already given a view,² bears on the east and west sides the royal arms of Scotland; on the north side those of Mary of Guelders—the Queen of James II. and the founder of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity—impaled with the royal arms; and on the south side the arms of France. James II. succeeded to the throne, a mere child, in 1438, and was killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh Castle in 1460; and the remaining armorial bearings afford further proof of the erection of this addition to the church between these two periods. On the opposite pillar there are, on the south side, the arms of the good town; and on the west those of Bishop Kennedy, the cousin of James II. and his able and faithful counsellor, who was promoted to the metropolitan see in 1440, and died in 1466. The other arms are those of Nicolson, and Preston of Craigmillar. On the engaged pillar, on the north side of the altar, are the arms of Thomas de Cranston, *Scutifer Regis*, a man of considerable influence

¹ Maitland, p. 271. Inventor of Pious Donations. M.S. Ad. Lib.
VOL. II.

² Ante, vol. i. p. 24.
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in the reign of James II., and a frequent ambassador to foreign courts, who died about 1470; and on the engaged pillar to the south, the arms are those of Isabel, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox, who, in 1450—about a year before her death—founded the Collegiate Church of Dumbarton, and largely endowed other religious foundations.¹ Maitland remarks—“In the year 1462, a great work seems to have been in hand at this church; for it was by the Town Council ordained that all persons presuming to buy corn before it was entered should forfeit one chalder to the church work.”² This may be supposed to refer to the same additions to the choir begun in the reign of James II. and then in progress, though it will be seen that other works were proceeded with about the same time. The work had no doubt been aided by the contributions of that monarch, and may have been further encouraged by the gifts of his widowed queen for masses to his soul. The repetition of the royal arms on the King’s Pillar is probably intended to refer to James III., in whose reign the work was finished. To the south of the choir, a second aisle of three arches with a richly groined ceiling, forms the Preston Aisle, erected agreeably to a charter granted to William Prestoun, of Gortoun, by the city of Edinburgh in 1454, setting forth “yat forasmekle as William of Prestoun the fadir, quam God assoillie, made diligent labour and grete menis, be a he and mighty Prince, the King of France, and mony uyr Lordis of France, for the gettyn of the arme bane of Saint Gele;—the quhilk bane he freely left to our moyr kirk of Saint Gele of Edinburgh, withoutyn ony condition makyn;—we, considrand ye grete labouris and costis yat he made for the gettyn yrof, we pmit, as said is, yat within six or seven zere, in all the possible and gudely haste we may, yat we sal big an ile, furth frae our Lady Ile, quhare ye said William lyes in the said ile, to be begunyin within a zere; in the quhilk ile yare sall be made a brase for his crest in bosit work; and abone the brase a plate of brase, with a writ, specifiand, the bringing of yat relik be him in Scotland, with his armis; and his armis to be put, in hewyn marble, uyr thre parts of the ile.”³ The charter further binds the Provost and Council to found an altar there, with a chaplain, and secures to the lineal descendants of the donor the privilege of bearing the precious gift of St Giles’s arm bone in all public processions. The arms of Preston still remain on the roof of the aisle, as engaged to be executed in this charter; and the same may be seen repeated in different parts of their ancient stronghold of Craigmillar Castle; where also occurs their Rebus, sculptured on a stone pannel of the outer wall: a press, and tun or barrel.⁴ They continued annually to exercise their chartered right of bearing the arm bone of the Patron Saint till the memorable year 1558, when the College of St Giles walked for the last time in procession, on the 1st of September, the festival of St Giles, bearing in procession a statue hired for the occasion, from the Gray Friars, to personate the Great Image of the Saint, as large as life, because “the auld Saint Geile” had been first drowned in the North Loch as an adulterer, or encourager of idolatry, and thereafter burnt as a heretic. Only two years before, the Dean of Guild paid 6s. “for paynting of

¹ A letter on the subject of these armorial bearings, signed A. D., [the late Alexander Deuchar, we presume, a first-rate authority on all matters of heraldry,] appeared in the Scots Magazine, June 1818. The writer promises to send the result of further observations, but he does not appear to have followed out his intentions.

² Maitland, p. 271.

³ Archæologia Scotica, vol. I., p. 375.

⁴ The Rebus of Prior Bolton, in Westminster Abbey, is very similar to this: a tun, or barrel, with a bolt thrust through it.

Sant Geile;” and “ for mending and polishing Saint Gelis arme, 12d.,” but his honours were rudely put an end to by the rioters of 1558; and only four years thereafter the Saint’s silver-work, ring, and jewels, and all the vestments wherewith his image and his arm bone were wont to be decorated on high festivals of the Church, were sold by authority of the Magistrates, and the proceeds employed in repairing the church. Sir David Lindsay deserves more credit than has yet been ascribed to him for the irreverent handling of the saint on this occasion. His *Monarchie* was finished in 1553, and had then had time to have produced its influence on the popular mind. His description of the honours paid by the citizens of Edinburgh to their Patron Saint is sufficiently graphic; nor does he hesitate to forewarn the clergy of the *recompence* that so speedily followed:—

Of Edinburgh, the greit idolatrie,
And manifest abhominatioun,
On thair feist day, all creature may see,
Thay beir ane auld stok image through the toun,
With talbrone, trumpet, schalme, and clarioun;
Quhilk hes bene usit mony ane yeir bygone,
With priestis, and freiris, into processioun,
Stelyke, as Bell was borne through Babylone.

Fy on yow, freiris! that usis for to preiche,
And dois assist to sik idolatrie:
Quhy do ye nocht the ignorant pepill teiche,
How ane deid image carvit of ane tre,
As it war haly, suld nocht honourit be;
Nor borne on burges backis, up and doun:
Bot, ye schaw panielie your hypocrisie,
Quhen ye pas forrest in processioun.

Fy on yow fosteraris of idolatrie!
That till ane deid stok, dois sik reverence,
In presens of the pepill publicklye;
Feir ye nocht God, to commit sik offence?
I counsall yow do yit your diligence,
To gar suppressie sik greit abusioun:
Do ye nocht sa, I dreid your recompence,
Sal be nocht ellis, bot cleane confusioun.

The arm bone of the Patron Saint, procured at so great a cost, and heretofore commanding the devout admiration of the faithful, was most probably flung out into the neighbouring church-yard, soon after the discomfiture of his adherents, to mingle unheeded with the ashes of forgotten generations. One fact, however, we learn from the charter granted by the Magistrates to Preston of Gortoun, as to the appropriation of different parts of the church at that period, viz., that the Lady Aisle, where the altar of the blessed Virgin Mary stood, was part of what now forms the south aisle of the choir, or High Church. To this altar we find one of the earliest recorded gifts bestowed, in the reign of David II., when the first mention of distinct chantries in St Giles Church is found, viz. “ Carta to the Lady Altar of St Geille’s, of ane tenement in Edinburgh, given by William Here,

burges of Edinburgh."¹ From the style of architecture which prevails through the older parts of the collegiate church, we feel little hesitation in assigning the erection of the main portion of the fabric to the close of David's reign, which extended from 1329 to 1371, or to that of his successor Robert II. It is finished entirely in that simple and comparatively plain style of pointed architecture, which Dallaway designates Pure Gothic, and of which no specimen will be found later than the fourteenth century. It was a period of almost incessant wars, involving the whole nation in misery for years; but it was no less characterized by religious zeal, encouraged, no doubt in some degree, by the fact that ecclesiastical property was the only species of possession that had any chance of escaping the fury of the invaders. Edward III., however, carried on his Scottish invasion with a ferocity that spared not even the edifices consecrated to religion. In 1355, he desolated the country on to Edinburgh, and laid every town, village, and hamlet in ashes, though not without suffering keenly from the assaults of the hardy Scots. This bloody inroad was peculiarly associated in the minds of the people with the unwonted sacrilege of the invaders, and as it happened about the time of the Feast of Purification, it was popularly known as *the Burnt Candlemas*.² In this desolating invasion, St Giles's Church, no doubt, suffered greatly; but the misery of the people, and the uncertainty involved in such a state of continual warfare, did not prevent the restoration of their churches, and we accordingly find in the Burgh Records, a contract made in the year 1380 between the Provost and some masons, to vault over a part of the church. This was, no doubt, speedily accomplished, as in 1384, the Scottish barons assembled there and resolved on a war with England, notwithstanding the desire of Robert II. for peace. The result was that the whole town was exposed to another general conflagration by the invading army of Richard II., and the Church of St Giles is expressly mentioned as involved in the general destruction. There is no reason, however, to conclude from this, that the massive walls of the old Gothic fabric were razed to the ground by the flames that consumed the simple dwellings of the unwalled town. The cost of its restoration appears to have been borne by the Government, and various entries occur in the accounts of the Great Chamberlain of Scotland, rendered at the Exchequer between the years 1390 and 1413, of sums granted for completing its re-edification. Nevertheless, the archives of the city preserve authentic evidence of additions being made out of its own funds to the original fabric in 1387, only two years after the conflagration, and an examination of such portions of these as still remain abundantly confirms this idea; the style of decoration being exactly of that intermediate kind between the simple forms of the old nave and the highly ornate style of the choir, which is usually found in the transition from the one to the other.

The contract for the additions made to St Giles's Church from the revenues of the town, and the contributions of its wealthier citizens at the time when the main fabric was left to be restored from the general revenues of the kingdom, while it affords an insight into the progress of the building at that date, cannot but be regarded as a curious proof of that singular elasticity which the Scottish nation displayed during their protracted wars with England; showing, as it does, the general and local government vying with one another in the luxury

¹ Robertson's Index, 1798, temp. David II., p. 66. The date of the charter is 1365. Regist. Mag. Sigill, p. 54. The deed of gift to St Katherine's Altar in the same reign, is dated 1359.

² Dalrymple's Annals, pp. 237-8.

of ornate ecclesiastical edifices almost as soon as the invaders had retreated across the Borders. The agreement bears to be made at Edinburgh, November 29th 1387, between "Adam Forster, Lord of Nether Leberton, Androw Yichtson, Provest of the Burgh of Edynburgh, and Communitie of that Ilk, on the ta half, and Johne Johne of Stone, and Johne Skayer, masounys, on the toyer half," and requires that "the forsaidys Johne Johne, and Johne, sall make and voute fyve Chapells on the south syde of the Paryce Kyrke of Edynburgh, fra the west gavyll, lyand and ryanan doun est, on to the grete pyler of the stepyl, voutyt on the same maner by the masounys, as the vout above Sanct Stevyns auter, standand on the north syde of the parys auter of the Abbay of Haly-rude Houss. Alsua yat ylk man sal mak in ylk Chapel of the four, a wyndow with thre lychtys in fourm masoune lyke, the qwhilk patroune yai hef sene; and the fyfte Chapel voutyt with a durre, in als gude maner als the durre, standand in the west gavyll of ye forsaid kyrk. Alsua ye forsayde fyve Chapellys sall be thekyt abovyn with stane, and water thycht; ye buttras, ye lintels fynyt up als hech as ye lave of yat werk askys."¹ The whole of these five chapels remained, with their beautiful groined roofs, and clustered columns, until the *restoration* of the ancient edifice in 1829, when the two west ones were demolished, apparently for no better reason, than because they interfered with the architect's design for a uniform west front. The third chapel, which now forms the west lobby of the *Old Church*, as this subdivision of the building is styled, retained till the same recent date, the beautiful vaulted entrance erected in 1387; it was an open porch, with a richly groined ceiling, and over it a small chamber, lighted by an elegant oriel window, the corbel of which was an angel holding the city arms. A fac-simile of this has been transferred to the west side of the aisle,² though without either the beautiful porch which it surmounted, or the picturesque turret stair which stood on its west side, and formed the approach to the Priest's Chamber, as well as to the roof of the church. The demolition of this portion of the ancient edifice led to the discovery of a large accumulation of charters and ancient records of the city, which had been placed at some early period in the chamber over the porch, and had lain there undisturbed probably for more than two centuries. It had contained also a series of pictorial decorations of an unusual character as the adornments of any part of a church, but which appear to have been painted on the panneling of the chamber about the period of the Revolution, when it formed an appendage to the Council Chambers. The only fragments of these that have been preserved are now in the collection of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., and consist of a trumpeter, a soldier bearing a banner, and a female figure holding a cornucopia. The costume of the figures, which are above half life size, is of the reign of William III. The paintings are really works of some merit, so far as can be judged from these detached fragments, which were literally rescued from the ruins of the ancient vestry, and are insufficient to show what had been the subject of the whole design. The two eastern chapels are now included in the *Old Church*, and though greatly defaced by modern parti-

¹ Maitland, p. 270.

² The carved stones of the original window are now in the possession of A. E. Ellis, Esq., and cannot but excite the surprise of every one who sees them, as the most of them are nearly as fresh and sharp as when first executed. Among other interesting fragments rescued by Mr Ellis at the same period, there is a very fine stoup for holy water, formed in shape of a shallow basin, with a large star covering it, and leaving the interstices for the water. It had projected from the wall on a richly flowered corbel, which has been rudely broken in its removal.

tions and galleries, retain some of the original groining, constructed five centuries ago, in imitation of St Stephen's Chapel in the Abbey of Holyrood.

An aisle appears to have been added at a later period to the south of the two last chapels, the beautifully groined roof of which was fully as rich as any portion of the choir. This appears to be the chapel referred to in a "charter of confirmation of a mortification by Alexander Lauder of Blyth, Knight, Provost of Edinburgh, to ane altarage of St Gilles Kirk," dated 17th August 1513,¹ by which he founded a "chaplainry in the New Chapel, near the south-western corner of the church, in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and Gabriel the Archangel."² It consisted of two arches extending between the porch and the south transept, and in the south wall, between the two windows, a beautiful altar tomb was constructed under a deep recess, on which a recumbent figure had, no doubt, been originally placed, although it probably disappeared along with the statues, and other ancient decorations, that fell a prey to the reforming zeal of 1559, when "The Black and Gray Freris of Edinburgh were demolissed and castin doun aluterlie, and all the chepellis and collegis about the said burgh, with thair zairds, were in lykwyise distroyit; and the images and altaris of Sanctgeilis kirk distroyit and brint, be the Erlis of Ergyle and Glencarne, the pryour of Sanctandros and Lord Ruthvene, callit the congregatioun."³ The principal ornaments of this fine tomb suggest its having been erected for some eminent ecclesiastic. Underneath the corbels from which the crocketed arch springs, two shields are cut, bearing the emblems of our Saviour's passion, the one on the right having the nails, spear, and reed with the sponge, and the other the pillar and scourges. The pinnacle with which the arch terminates is adorned with the beautiful emblem of a heart within the crown of thorns, and on either side of it a lion and dragon are sculptured as supporters. On the top of this an ornamental corbel formerly supported a clustered pillar, from the capital of which the rich groining of the roof spread out its fan-like limbs towards the fine bosses of the centre key-stones. All this, however, which combined to form one of the finest and most unique features of the old church, has been sacrificed to secure that undesirable uniformity which ruins the Gothic designs of modern architects, and is scarcely ever found in the best ancient examples. One-half of the aisle has been demolished, and a wall built across where the clustered pillar formerly supported the beautiful roof of the chapel, in order to give it the appearance externally of an aisle to the south transept. The altar tomb has been removed in a mutilated state to this fragment of the ancient chapel, now degraded to the mean office of a staircase to the Montrose aisle on the east side of the same transept, which, with a floor half way up its ancient pillars, serves for a vestry to the *Old Church*.

On the north side of the nave a range of chapels appears to have been added at a somewhat later date than those built on the south side in 1387, judging from the style of ornament, and particularly the rich groining of the roof. These consisted of two small chapels on each side of the ancient Norman porch, while above it there was an apartment known as the Priest's Room. This had, no doubt, served as a vestry for some of the clergy officiating at the numerous altars of the church, though Maitland gives it the name of the

¹ Inventar of Pious Donations. M.S. Ad. Lib. Alexander Lauder filled the office of Provost in the years 1501-3, and again in 1508-10. The Earl of Angus was the Provost in 1513, and marched with the burgher force to Flodden Field.

² Maitland, p. 271.

³ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 269.



Drawn by D. Wilson.

Eng'd by T. Stewart.

ST GILES' CHURCH,
FROM THE "WEST" AMSTERDAM 1827.

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Priest's Prison, as the place of durance in olden times for culprits who had incurred the Church's censures. This same apartment served as the prison in which Sir John Gordon of Haddo was secured in 1644, previous to his trial and execution, from whence one of the places of worship into which the nave of the ancient collegiate church was divided derived its singular name of "Haddow's Hole." Both the porch, and the two chapels to the east of it, have disappeared in the recent remodelling of the church, although they formed originally very picturesque features externally, with their pointed gables, and steep roofs "theikit with stane," and with them also the deep archway which had formerly given access to the most ancient fragment of the parish church. The eastmost of these chapels, which is now replaced by what appears externally as the west aisle of the north transept, was the only portion of the church in which any of the coloured glass remained, with which, doubtless, most of its windows were anciently filled. Its chief ornament consisted of an elephant, very well executed, underneath which were the crown and hammer, the armorial bearings of the Incorporation of Hammermen, enclosed within a wreath. From these insignia we may infer that this was St Eloi's Chapel, at the altar of which, according to the traditions of the burgh, the craftsmen of Edinburgh who had followed Allan, Lord High Steward of Scotland, to the Holy Land, and aided in the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidels, dedicated the famous *Blue Blanket*, or "Banner of the Holy Ghost."¹ The large and beautiful centre key-stone of this chapel is now in the collection of C. K. Sharpe, Esq. It is adorned with a richly sculptured boss, formed of four dragons, with distended wings, each different in design, the tails of which are gracefully extended, so as to cover the intersecting ribs of the groined roof. The centre is formed by a large flower, to which an iron hook is attached; from whence, no doubt, anciently depended a lamp over the altar of St Eloi, the patron saint of the Hammermen of Edinburgh. The painted glass from the chapel window—which, from the rarity of such remains in Scotland, would have possessed even a greater value than the beautiful key-stone,—has either gone to enrich some private collection, or been destroyed like the old chapel to which it belonged, as we have failed in all attempts to recover any clue to it. The view of the church from the north-west will suffice to convey some idea of the singularly picturesque appearance of this part of the old building externally, even when encumbered with the last of the Krames, and with its walls and windows defaced with many incongruous additions of later date. A restoration of this would have well rewarded the labour of the architect, and merited a grateful appreciation, which very few indeed will consider due to the uniformity that has been effected by its sacrifice. The two western chapels still remain, with a very light and elegant clustered pillar, adorned with sculptured shields on a rich foliated capital, from



¹ Pennecuik's History of the Blue Blanket. p. 28.

which spring the ribs of the groined roof and the arches that divide it from the adjoining aisle. The ornamental sculptures of this portion of the church are of a peculiarly striking character. On the centre key-stone of the eastern chapel, the monogram of the Virgin is inwrought with the leaves of a gracefully sculptured wreath, and the same is repeated in a simpler form on one of the bosses of the neighbouring aisle. But the most interesting of these decorations are the heraldic devices which form the prominent ornaments on the capital of the pillar. These consist, on the south side, of the arms of Robert, Duke of Albany, the second son of King Robert II.; and on the north side, of those of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas. In the year 1401, David, Duke of Rothsay, the unfortunate son of Robert III., was arrested by his uncle, the Duke of Albany and Governor of Scotland, with the consent of the king his father, who had been incensed against him by the daily complaints which his uncle contrived to have carried to the old king's ear. The circumstances of his death have been pictured with thrilling effect in the popular pages of *The Fair Maid of Perth*. He was committed a close prisoner to the dungeon of Falkland Castle, and there starved to death, notwithstanding the intervention of a maiden and nurse, who experienced a far different fate from that assigned by Scott, though their efforts to rescue the Prince from his horrible death are described with considerable accuracy. "The Blacke Booke of Scone saith, that the Earle Douglas was with the Governour when he brought the Duke from Saint Andrew's to Falkland,"¹ having probably been exasperated against the latter, who was his own brother-in-law, by the indignity which his licentious courses put upon his sister. Such are the two Scottish nobles whose armorial bearings still grace the capital of the pillar in the old chapel. It is the only other case in which they are found acting in concert, besides the dark deed already referred to; and it seems no unreasonable inference to draw from such a coincidence, that this chapel had been founded and endowed by them as an expiatory offering for that deed of blood, and its chaplain probably appointed to say masses for their victim's soul. A view of this interesting and beautiful part of the interior of St Giles's Church—with the gallery and pews removed,—forms the vignette at the head of the chapter.

The transepts of the church as they existed before 1829, afforded no less satisfactory evidence of the progress of the building. Distinct traces remained of the termination of the south transept a few feet beyond the pillars that separated the south aisle of the choir from Preston's, or the Assembly Aisle, as it was latterly termed. Beyond this, the groining of the roof entirely differed from the older portion, exhibiting unequivocal evidence of being the work of a later age. This part of the Old Church forms—or rather, we should perhaps say, formed—by far the most interesting portion of the whole building, from its many associations with the eminent men of other days. Here it was that Walter Chepman, burgess of Edinburgh, famous as the introducer of the printing-press to Scotland, founded and endowed a chaplainry at the altar of St John the Evangelist, "in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, St John the Apostle and Evangelist, and all Saints." The charter is dated 1st August 1513, an era of peculiar interest. Scotland was then rejoicing in all the prosperity and happiness consequent on the wise and beneficent reign

¹ Hume of Godscroft's *Hist. of the Douglasses*, p. 118. Hume attempts to free the Earl from the charge, but with little success.

of James IV. Learning was visited with the highest favour of the court, and literature was rapidly extending its influence under the zealous co-operation of Dunbar, Douglas, Kennedy, and others, with the royal master printer. Only one month thereafter, Scotland lay at the mercy of her southern rival. Her king was slain; the chief of her nobles and warriors had perished on Flodden Field; and adversity and ignorance again replaced all the advantages that had followed in the train of the gallant James's rule. Thenceforth the altars of St Giles's Church received few and rare additions to their endowments. There is good reason for believing that Walter Chepman lies buried in the south transept of the church, close by the spot where "the Good Regent," James Earl of Murray, the Regent Morton, and his great rival the Earl of Atholl, are buried, and adjoining the aisle where the mangled remains of the great Marquis of Montrose were reinterred, with every mark of honour, on the 7th of January 1661. This receives strong corroboration from an agreement entered in the Burgh Registers 30th June 1579, by which the Council "grants and permits that upon the west part of Walter Chepmanis Iyle, fernent the Earl of Murrayis tomb, sal be broken, and thair ane burial place be maid for the Earl of Athole."

The Regent's tomb, which stood on the west side of the south transept, was on many accounts an object of peculiar interest. As the monument erected to one who had played so conspicuous a part in one of the most momentous periods of our national history, it was calculated to awaken many stirring associations. The scene which occurred when the Regent's remains were committed to the tomb was itself not the least interesting among the memorable occurrences that have been witnessed in the ancient Church of St Giles, when the thousands who had assembled within its walls were moved to tears by the eloquence of Knox. "Vpoun the xiiij day of the moneth [of Februar, 1570,] being Tyisdaye," says a contemporary, "my lord Regentis corpis being brocht in ane bote be sey fra Striueling to Leith, quhair it was keipit in Johne Wairdlaw his hous, and thairefter caryit to the palace of Halyrudhous, wes transportit fra the said palace of Halyrudhous to the college kirk of Sanctgeill in this manner; that is to say, William Kirkaldie of Grange knycht, raid fra the said palice in dule weid, beirand ane pensall quhairin wes contenit ane reid lyoun; efter him followit Coluill of Cleishe, maister houshald to the said regent, with ane vther pensell quhairin wes contenit my lord regentis armes and bage; efter thame wes the Erlis of Athole, Mar, Glencarne, lordis of Ruthvene, Methvene, maister of Grahame, lord Lindsay, with diuerse vtheris barronis, beirand the saidis corpis to the said college kirk of Sanctgeill, quhairin the samyne wes placeit befoir the pulpett; and thairefter Johne Knox minister made ane lamentable sermond tuitching the said murther; the samin being done, the said corpis wes burijt in Sanct Anthoneis yle within the said college kirk."¹ The Regent's tomb was surmounted with his arms, and bore on the front of it a brass plate with the figures of Justice and Faith engraved thereon, and the epitaph composed by Buchanan² for the purpose:—

IACOBO STOVARTO, MORAVIÆ COMITI, SCOTIÆ PROREGI;
VIRO, ÆTATIS SVÆ, LONGE OPTIMO: AB INIMICIS,
OMNIS MEMORIÆ DETERRIMIS, EX INSIDIIS EXTINGCTO,
CEV PATRI COMMVNI, PATRIA MGERENS POSVIT.

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 158.
VOL. II.

² Calderwood's Hist., vol. ii. p. 526.
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Underneath the coat of arms, to the left of the above inscription, was the motto,—*PIETAS, SINE VINDICE, LUGET*; and on the right side,—*JUS EXARMATUM EST*. The monument which stood directly opposite to that of the Regent was generally understood to be that of the Earl of Atholl, who was buried with great solemnity in the south aisle of the church on the 4th of July 1579. The sumptuous preparations for this funeral led to the interference of the General Assembly, by whom “commissioun was givin to some brethrein to declare to the lords that the Assemblie thought the croce and the stroups superstitious and ethnick like, and to crave they may be removed at the Erle of Atholl’s buriall. The lords answered, they sould caus cover the mortcloath with blacke velvet, and remove the strowpes.”¹ The lords, however, failed in their promise. The *strowpes*, or flambeaux, were used on the occasion, notwithstanding the promise to the contrary, in consequence of which a riot ensued. Crawford² describes the stately monument erected over his grave; but from his allusion to an allegorical device of a pelican, vulned, feeding her young—the crest of the Earls of Moray, but an emblem, as he conceives, designed to signify the long devotion borne by the Earl of Atholl to his country,—he has evidently mistaken for it that of the Regent. There was a vacant pannel on this monument, apparently intended for inserting a brass plate similar to that on the Earl of Murray’s tomb, but it had either been removed or never inserted. On the top had been a coat of arms, but all that remained was a representation of two pigeons, and the date 1579,³ which, however, may be received as conclusive evidence of its having been the Earl of Atholl’s monument. The portion of the church which contained these monuments was approached by a door from the Parliament Close, which was never closed, so that the Regent’s Aisle was a common place for appointments. It is alluded to in Sempill’s satirical poem “The Banishment of Poverty,” as a convenient lounge for idlers, where he humorously describes the repast provided for him by the Genius of Poverty:—

Then I knew no way how to fen;
My guts rumbled like a hurle-barrow;
I dined with saints and noblemen,
Ev’n sweet Saint Giles and Earl of Murray.

It probably originated no less in the veneration with which “the Good Regent” was regarded than in the convenience of the place, that it was long a common occurrence to make bills payable at “the Earl of Murray’s” tomb, and to fix on it as the place of assignation for those who proposed entering on any mutual contract.⁴ The fact will seem hardly credible to future generations, that this national monument, erected, as the inscription on it expressed, as the tribute of a mourning country to their common father, was deliberately demolished during the recent alterations in the process of enlarging the Assembly Aisle.

¹ Calderwood’s Hist. vol. iii. p. 446. ² Crawford’s Officers of State, p. 136. Nisbet’s Heraldry, vol. ii. Ap. p. 180.

³ Kincaid’s Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 179. The *pigeons* were probably young pelicans.

⁴ The custom is one of long standing. Among the Closeburn papers, in the possession of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., a contract by Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick for the payment of a considerable sum of money, dated in the reign of Charles I., makes it payable at Earl Murray’s tomb. There is a remarkable charter of James II. in 1452, entailing the lands of Barntoun on George Earl of Caithness, and his heirs and assigns, and his *natural* daughter; with this proviso, that he, or his assigns, should cause to be paid to his bastard daughter, Janet, on a particular day, between the rising and setting of the sun, in the parish church of St Giles, in his burgh of Edinburgh, upon the high altar of the same, three hundred marks, usual money.—Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 774.

The plan of the architect proved after all a total failure, and a new hall had to be provided elsewhere for the meetings of the General Assembly of the Church. The removal of this important national monument was not effected without considerable opposition, and its destruction in the face of repeated remonstrances reflects indelible disgrace on all who had a share in it. The brass plate, with the inscription prepared by Buchanan for this tomb, has been rescued from the general wreck, and is now preserved by the descendants of the Regent at Dunnybristle House. We trust it is preserved to be again restored to the place where it so long formed the chief point of attraction. The same transept, styled the *Old Church*,¹ was the scene of Jenny Geddes's famous onslaught on the Dean of St Giles's, owing to the alterations which were in progress on the choir at the period when the use of the liturgy was attempted to be enforced, in order to adapt it for the cathedral service.² A very characteristic episode or by-play, which was enacted in a corner of the church while the heroine of the Cutty Stool was playing her more prominent part with the Dean, is thus narrated by a contemporary:—"A good Christian woman, much desirous to remove, perceaving she could get no passage patent, betooke herselfe to her Bible in a remote corner of the church. As she was there stopping her eares at the voice of popische charmers, whome she remarked to be verie headstrong in the publict practise of their anti-christiane rudiments, a young man sitting behind her begamme to sound foarth, *Amen!* At the hearing therof, she quicklie turned her about, and after she had warmed both his cheekes with the weight of her hands, she thus schott against him the thunderbolt of her zeal:—"False theeve! (said she,) is there no uther parte of the kirke to sing masse in but thou must sing it at my lugge?" The young man, being dashed with such ane hote unexpected rencounter, gave place to silence in signe of his recantation."³ The erection of the Bishopric of Edinburgh in 1633, and the appointment of the Collegiate Church of St Giles to be the Cathedral of the diocese, led to its temporary restoration internally to something like its ancient appearance. But ere the royal commands could be carried into effect for the demolition of all its galleries and subdivisions, and its adaptation as the cathedral church of the new bishop, the entire system of Church polity for which these changes were designed had come to a violent end, involving many more important things in its downfal. "In this Isle," says Kincaid, "are sundry inscriptions in Saxon characters, cut on the pavement, of very coarse sculpture." Similar ancient monuments covered the floor in other parts of the church, but every vestige of them has been swept away in the recent *improvements*. A large portion of one, boldly cut and with the date 1508, is preserved in the nursery of Messrs Eagle and Henderson. The inscription runs round the edge of the stone in Gothic characters, and contains the name and date thus:—

Jacobi . lame . qui . obiit . ano . Dni . m^o . b^o . octavo.

A shield in the centre bears a lamb, well executed, lying with its feet drawn together. Other two of these monumental stones, now completely defaced, form the paving in front of the Fountain Well!

¹ Lord Rothes' Relation, Append. p. 198.

² "In the year 1636, the Town-Council ordered one of the Bailiffs and one of the Clerks of Edinburgh, to desire James Hanna, the Dean of St Giles's Church, to repair to Durham, to take a Draught of the Choir of the Cathedral Church in that city, in order to fit up and beautify the inside of St Giles's Church after the same manner."—Maitland, p. 281.

³ A Breefe and true Relatione of the Broyle, &c., 1637.

The changes effected on the north transept, though equally radical with any we have described on other parts of the church, were accompanied with some beneficial effects, calculated to atone in a slight degree for the destruction of its ancient features. This transept remained in its original state, extending no further than the outer wall of the north aisle of the choir. Beyond this, and within the line of the centre aisle of the transept, was the belfry turret, with its curious and picturesque stone roof, which is accurately represented in the view from the north west. This turret was entirely removed and built anew, with a crocketed spire in lieu of the more unique though rude form of the old roof, in a position to the west of the transept, so as to admit of the latter being extended as far north as the outer wall of the old building. This was accomplished by the demolition of an aisle which had been added to the old transept, apparently about the end of the fifteenth century, and which, though equally richly finished, with groined roof and sculptured bosses and corbels, was used till very shortly before its demolition as the offices of the town clerk. The appropriation, indeed, of the centre of the ancient collegiate church, was perhaps an act of as disgraceful and systematic desecration as ever was perpetrated by an irreverent age. The space within the great pillars of the centre tower was walled off and converted into a stronghold for the incarceration of petty offenders, and the whole police establishment found accommodation within the north transept and the adjoining chapels. The reverent spirit of earlier times, which led to the adornment of every lintel and façade with its appropriate legend or scripture text, had long disappeared ere this act of sacrilege was so deliberately accomplished, otherwise a peculiarly suitable motto might have been found for St Giles's north doorway in the text:—“*My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves*”!

In the subdivision of the ancient church for Protestant worship, the south aisle of the nave, with three of the five chapels built in 1389, were converted into what was called the Tolbooth Kirk. Frequent allusions, however, by early writers, in addition to the positive evidence occasionally furnished by the records of the courts, tend to show that both before the erection of the new Tolbooth, and after it was found inadequate for the purposes of a legislative hall and court house, the entire nave of St Giles's Church was used for the sittings of both assemblies, and is frequently to be understood as the place referred to under the name of the Tolbooth. In the trial, for example, of “Mr Adame Colquhoun, convicted of art and part of the treasonable slaughter and murder of umq^h Robert Rankin,” the sederunt of the court is dated March 16, 1561–2, “In Insula, vocat. Halie-blude Iill, loco pretorii de Edr.”¹ and nearly a century later, Nicoll, the old diarist, in the midst of some very grave reflections on the *instabilitie of man, and the misereis of kirk and stat* in his time, describes the frequent changes made on “the Kirk callit the Tolbuith Kirk, quhilk wes so callit becaus it wes laitlie the pairt and place quhair the criminall court did sitt, and quhair the gallous and the mayden did ly of old; lykewyse, this Kirk alterit and chayngit, and of this one Kirk thai did mak two.”² During the interval between the downfall of Episcopacy in 1639, and its restoration in 1661, a constant succession of changes seem to have been made on the internal subdivision of St Giles's Church, though without in any way permanently affecting the original features of the building.

¹ Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, Supplement, p. 419.

² Nicoll's Diary, p. 170.

Externally, the recent alterations, though greatly injuring the old church in some parts, and particularly in its south front towards the Parliament Close, have effected decided improvements on others. Many of the buttresses had been injured or entirely removed to make way for the booths erected against its walls, and most of the mullions and tracery of the windows had disappeared, and been replaced by clumsy wooden sashes. In the year 1561 the western wall was rebuilt by order of the Town Council. It is probable that this part of the building was originally characterized by the usual amount of ornament lavished on the west fronts of cathedrals and collegiate churches, as canopied niches, gurgils, and other fragments of ornate ecclesiastical architecture were scattered in an irregular manner throughout the rude masonry. When it was rebuilt, however, it was no doubt hemmed in with buildings as it remained till 1809, so that there was little inducement to erect any thing more than a substantial wall. Here, therefore, the architect found a fair field for the exercise of his genius, and the result is at any rate an improvement on what preceded it. The east end is also improved externally by the addition of buttresses, though at the sacrifice of "our ladie's niche;" and the new work preserves an exact fac-simile of the tracery of the great east window. On the north side of the choir the monument of the Napier family forms a conspicuous and interesting feature, though recent investigations by the late Professor Wallace are generally received as a confutation of the tradition that it marks the tomb of the illustrious inventor of Logarithms.¹ It is exceedingly probable that this monument indicates the site of St Salvator's altar, to the chaplain of which Archibald Napier of Merchiston, in 1494, mortified an annual rent of twenty merks out of a tenement near the College Kirk of the Holy Trinity.²

The present graceful Crown Tower of St Giles's, which forms so striking a feature not only of the church but of the town, dates no further back than the year 1648, when it was rebuilt on the model of the older tower, which had then fallen into decay. Of the four bells, which seem to have formed the whole complement of the belfry in early times,

¹ *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv., p. 213; where evidence is produced, derived from the writings of James Hume of Godscroft, a contemporary of Napier, to show that he was buried in St Cuthbert's Church. The question, however, still admits of doubt. Hume's work, a *Treatise on Trigonometry*, was published at Paris in 1636. He remarks of the Inventor of Logarithms:—"Il mourut l'an 1616, et fut enterré hors la Porte Occidentale d'Edinbourg, dans l'Eglise de Saint Cudbert." In this statement the wrong year is assigned for his death, and other passages show that the author was at least personally unacquainted with the Scottish philosopher. The stone in St Giles's Church is, after all, the best evidence. The inscription simply bears:—S. E. P. FAM. DE NEPERORUM INTERIUS HIC SITUM EST. But it is surmounted with the arms and crest of Merchiston, along with the Wrychtishousis shield. The recent biographer of Napier remarks, (*Memoirs of Napier of Merchiston*, by Mark Napier, Esq., p. 425), "The stone has every appearance of being much older than the time of the philosopher." To us, however, it appears quite in the style of that period, the best evidence of which is its close resemblance to that of the rare title-page of the first edition of the *Logarithms*, published at Edinburgh by Andrew Hart, A.D. 1614, a fac-simile of which adorns that interesting volume of biography. The close intimacy between the Napiers of Merchiston and Wrychtishousis had been cemented by an alliance in 1513. Its continuation in the time of the philosopher is shown by an application from his neighbour for a seat or *dask* adjoining his in the Parish Church of St Cuthbert, so that their possession of a common place of sepulture at the period of his death is extremely probable. Add to this, the unvarying traditions among the descendants of Napier, as we are assured by his biographer, all pointing to the Collegiate Church of St Giles as the burial place of the philosopher, where his ancestors had founded a chantry, most probably above their own vault. Further evidence may yet be discovered on this subject. The Rev. Principal Lee informs us, that he possesses an abstract of documents proving the use of the family vault in St Giles's Church at a later date than the death of the philosopher, which adds to the improbability of his being buried elsewhere.

² *Inventar of Pious Donations*, M.S. Ad. Lib.

one, which bore the name of *St Mary's Bell*, was taken down at the same time that St Giles's arm bone was cast forth as a relic of superstition, and "with the brazen pillars in the Church, were ordered to be converted into great guns for the use of the Town," a resolution so far departed from, that they were sold the following year for two hundred and twenty pounds.¹ Two of the remaining bells were recast at Campvere in Zealand, in 1621;² and the largest of these having cracked, it was again recast at London in 1846. In 1585, St Giles's Church obtained some share of its neighbours' spoils, after having been stript of all its sacred furniture by the iconoclasts of the sixteenth century. That year the Council purchased the clock belonging to the Abbey Church of Lindores in Fife, and put it up in St Giles's steeple,³ previous to which time the citizens probably regulated time chiefly by the bells for matins and vespers, and the other daily services of the Roman Catholic Church.

Such is an attempt to trace, somewhat minutely, the gradual progress of St Giles's, from the small parish church of a rude hamlet, to the wealthy collegiate church, with its forty altars, and a still greater number of chaplains and officiating priests; and from thence to its erection into a cathedral, with the many vicissitudes it has since undergone, until its entire remodelling in 1829. The general paucity of records enabling us to fix the era of the later stages of Gothic architecture in Scotland confers on such inquiries some value, as they suffice to show that our northern architects adhered to the early Gothic models longer than those of England, and executed works of great beauty and mechanical skill down to the reign of James V., when political and religious dissensions abruptly closed the history of ecclesiastical architecture in the kingdom. No record preserves to us the names of those who designed the ancient Parish Church of St Giles, or the elaborate additions that gradually extended it to its later intricate series of aisles, adorned with every variety of detail. It will perhaps be as well, on the whole, that the name of the modern architect who undertook the revision of their work should share the same oblivion.

Very different, both in its history and architectural features, from the venerable though greatly modernized Church of St Giles, is the beautiful edifice which still stands at the foot of Leith Wynd, retaining externally much the same appearance as it assumed nearly 400 years ago, at the behest of the widowed Queen of James II., whose ashes repose beneath its floor. The Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity was founded in 1462, by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guelders, for a provost, eight prebends, and two singing boys; in addition to which there was attached to the foundation an hospital for thirteen poor bedemen, clad, like the modern pensioners of royalty, in blue gowns, who were bound to pray for the soul of the royal foundress. In the new statutes, it is ordered that "the saidis Beidmen sall prepair and mak ilk ane of yame on yair awin expensis, ane Blew-gown, conform to the first Foundation." The Queen Dowager died on the 16th November 1463, and was buried "in the Queen's College besyde Edinburgh, quhilk sho herself foundit, biggit, and dotit."⁴ No monument remains to mark the place where the foundress is laid; but her tomb is generally understood to be in the vestry, on the north side of the church. The death of the Queen so soon after the date of the charter of foundation, probably pre-

¹ Maitland, p. 273.

² *Ibid* p. 62.

³ Burgh Register, vol. vii. p. 177. Maitland, p. 273.

⁴ Lealey's Hist. p. 36.

vented the completion of the church according to the original design. As it now stands it consists of the choir and transepts, with the central tower partially built, and evidently hastily completed with crow-stepped gables and a slanting roof. The church is a beautiful specimen of the decorated English style of architecture. The east end of the choir more especially, has a very stately and imposing effect. It is an Apsis, with a lofty window in each of its three sides, originally filled with fine tracery, and not



improbably with painted glass, though the only evidence of either that now remains is the broken ends of mullions and transoms. The ornamental details with which the church abounds exhibit great variety of design, though many of those on the exterior are greatly injured by time. Various armorial bearings adorn different parts of the building, and particularly the east end of the choir. One of the latter has angels for supporters, but otherwise they are mostly too much decayed to be decipherable. One heraldic device, which, from its sheltered position on the side of a buttress at the west angle of the south transept, has escaped the general decay, is described both by Maitland and Arnot as the arms of the foundress. It proves, however, to be the arms of her brother-in-law, Alexander Duke of Albany, who at the time of her decease was residing at the court of the Duke of Guelders. From the royal supporters still traceable, attached to a coat of arms sculptured on the north-east buttress of the vestry, the arms of the foundress would appear to have been placed on that part of the church where she lies buried. In the foundation charter it is specially appointed, that "whenever any of the said Prebendaries shall read Mass, he shall, after the same, in his sacerdotal habiliments, repair to the tomb of the foundress with a sprinkler, and there devoutly read over the *De Profundis*, together with the *Fidelium*, and an exhortation to excite the people to devotion." Many of the details of the church are singularly grotesque. The monkey is repeated in all variety of positions in the gurgils, and is occasionally introduced in the interior among other figures that seem equally inappropriate as the decorations of an ecclesiastical edifice, though of common occurrence in the works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The varied corbels exhibit here and there an angel, or other device of beautiful form; but more frequently they consist of such crouching monsters, labouring under the burden they have to bear up, as seem to realize Dante's *Purgatory of Pride*, where the unpurged souls dree their doom of penance underneath a crushing load of stone:—

As, to support incumbent floor or roof,
For corbel, is a figure sometimes seen,
That crumples up its knees unto its breast;
With the feigned posture, stirring ruth unfeigned
In the beholder's fancy.¹

The centre aisle is lofty, and the groining exceedingly rich, abounding in the utmost variety of detail. A very fine doorway, underneath a beautiful porch with groined roof, gives access to the south aisle of the choir, and a small, but finely proportioned doorway, may be traced underneath the great window of the north transept, though now built up. The

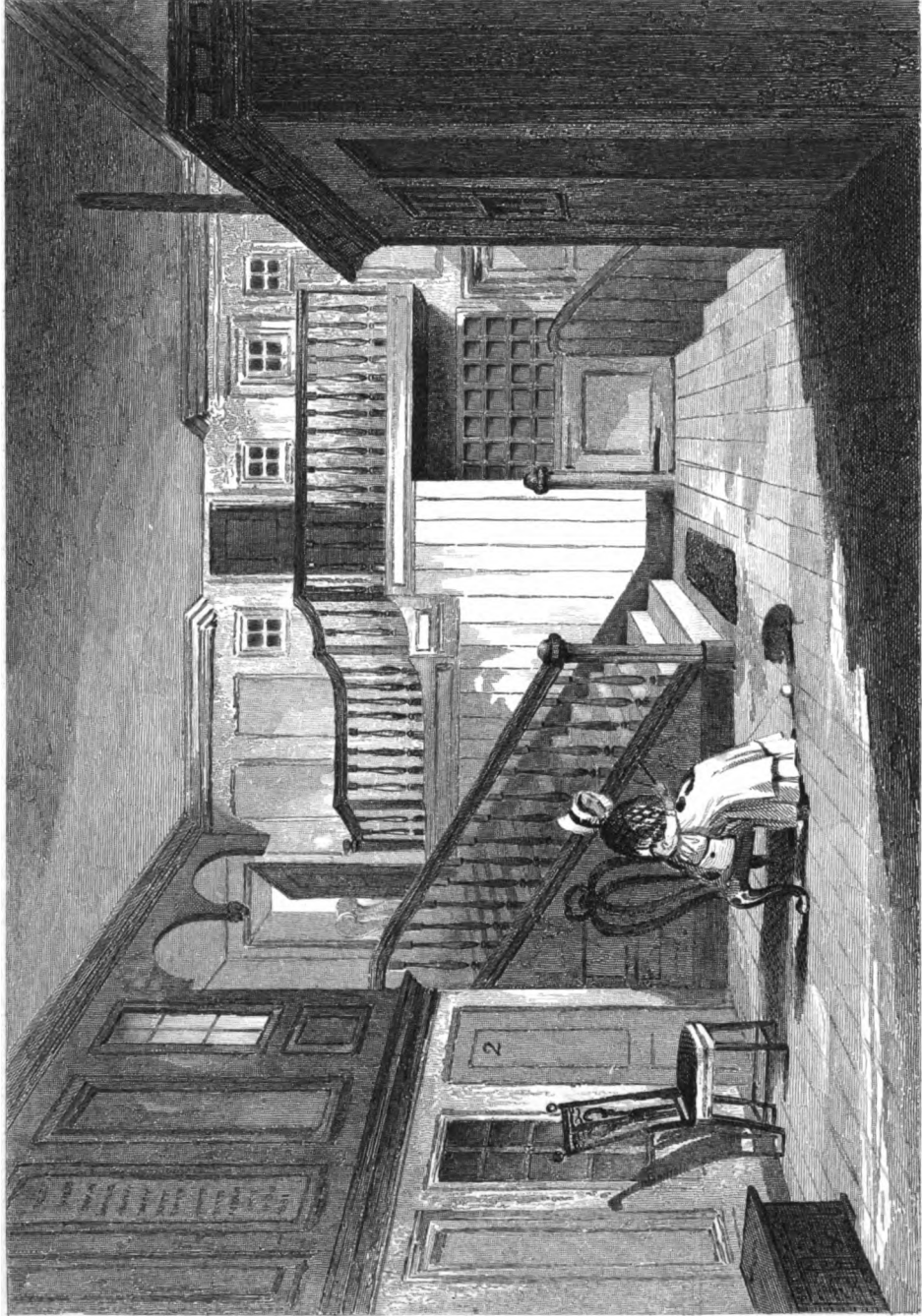
¹ Cary's Dante. *Purgatory*. Canto x.

admirable proportions and rich variety of details of this church, as well as its perfect state externally, untouched, save by the hand of time,—if we except the tracery of its windows,—render it one of the most attractive objects of study to the lover of Gothic architecture that now remains in the capital. Unhappily, however, the march of improvement threatens its demolition. It has already been marked for a prey by the engineers of the North British Railway, for the purpose of enlarging their terminus; and unless the exertions of the lovers of antiquity succeed in averting its destruction, the doom has already been pronounced of this venerable fane which covers the remains of Mary of Guelders, the Queen of James II. The vestry affords, externally, a fine specimen of the old Scottish method of “theiking with stone,” with which the whole church, except the central tower, was roofed till about the year 1814, when it was replaced with slates. The vestry also exhibits a rare specimen of an ancient Gothic chimney, an object of some interest to the architect, from the few specimens of domestic architecture in that style which have escaped the general destruction of the religious houses in Scotland.

The collegiate buildings, erected according to the plan of the foundress, were built immediately adjoining the church on the south side, while the hospital for the bedemen stood on the opposite side of Leith Wynd. In 1567 the church, with the whole collegiate buildings, were presented by the Regent Murray to Sir Simon Preston, Provost of Edinburgh, by whom they were bestowed on the town. New statutes were immediately drawn up for regulating “the beidmen and hospitalaris now present and to cum;”¹ and the hospital buildings being found in a ruinous condition, part of the collegiate buildings were fitted up and converted into the new hospital, which thenceforth bore the name of Trinity Hospital. This venerable edifice was swept away in 1845, in clearing the site for the railway station, and its demolition brought to light many curious evidences of its earlier state. A beautiful large Gothic fire-place, with clustered columns and a low pointed arch, was disclosed in the north gable, while many rich fragments of Gothic ornament were found built into the walls,—the remains, no doubt, of the original hospital buildings used in the enlargement and repair of the college. In the bird’s-eye view in Gordon’s map, an elegant Gothic lantern appears on the roof above the great hall, but this had disappeared long before the demolition of the building. In enlarging the drain from the area of the North Loch, in 1822, an ancient causeway was discovered fully four feet below the present level of the church floor, and extending a considerable way up the North Back of the Canongate. Its great antiquity was proved on the recent demolition of the hospital buildings, by the discovery that their foundations rested on part of the same ancient causeway thus buried beneath the slow accumulations of centuries, and which was not improbably a relic of the Roman invasion. One of the grotesque gurgails of the Trinity Hospital is now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum.

In the view of Trinity College Church, drawn by Paul Sandby for Maitland’s History of Edinburgh, a building is shown attached to the west end of it, which appears to have been a separate hospital maintained by the town, after the Magistrates had obtained the exclusive control of the Queen’s charitable foundation. In the will of Katharine Norwell, for example, the widow of the celebrated printer Thomas Baasendyne, dated 8th August

¹ Maitland, pp. 211, 480.



T. Stansard

J. Wilson

TRINITY HOSPITAL.

WOMAN'S WARD. TAKEN DOWN 1845.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

1593, she leaves "to ewerie ane of the pure folkis in the Hospitall of the Trinitie Colledge, and of the Toun Colledge of the west end of the Colledge Kirk, iij s. iij d." ¹

One other collegiate church was enclosed within the walls of the ancient capital, known as that of St Mary's-in-the-Fields, or more commonly the Kirk-of-Field. We have already referred to it as the scene of one of the most extraordinary deeds of violence that the history of any age or country records,—the murder of Darnley, the husband of Queen Mary,—perpetrated by Bothwell and his accomplices on the night of the 9th of February 1567, when the Provost's house, in which he lodged, was blown into the air with gunpowder, involving both Darnley and his servant in the ruins.² When young Roland Græme, the hero of the *Abbot*, draws near for the first time to the Scottish capital, under the guidance of the bluff falconer, Adam Woodcock, he is represented exclaiming on a sudden—"Blessed Lady, what goodly house is that which is lying all in ruins so close to the city? Have they been playing at the Abbot of Unreason here, and ended the gambol by burning the church?" The ruins that excited young Græme's astonishment were none other than those of the Kirk-of-Field, which stood on the site of the present University buildings. It appears in the view of 1544, as a large cross church, with a lofty central tower; and the general accuracy of this representation is in some degree confirmed by the correspondence of the tower to another view of it taken immediately after the murder of Darnley, when the church was in ruins. The latter drawing, which has evidently been made in order to convey an accurate idea of the scene of the murder to the English Court, is preserved in the State Paper Office, and a fac-simile of it is given in Chalmers' *Life of Queen Mary*. The history of the Collegiate Church of St Mary-in-the-Fields presents scarcely any other feature of interest than that which attaches to it as the scene of so strange and memorable a tragedy. Its age and its founder are alike unknown. It was governed by a provost, who, with eight prebendaries and two choristers, composed the college, with the addition of an hospital for poor bedemen; and it is probable that its foundation dated no earlier than the fifteenth century, as all the augmentations of it which are mentioned in the "Inventar of Pious Donations," belong to the sixteenth century. Bishop Lesley records in 1558, that "the Erle of Argyll and all his cumpanie entered in the toune of Edinburgh without anye resistance, quhair thay war weill receaved; and suddantlie the Black and Gray Freris places war spulyeit and cassin doune, the hail growing treis plucked up be the ruittis; the Trinitie Colledge and all the prebindaris houses thair of lykewise cassin doune; the altaris and images within Sanct Gelis Kirke and the Kirk of Field destroyed and brint."³ It seems probable, however, that the Collegiate Church of St Mary-in-the-Field was already shorn of its costliest spoils before the reformers of the Congregation visited it in 1558. In the "Inventory of the Townis purchase from the Marquis of Hamilton in 1613," with a view to the founding of the college, we have found an abstract of "a feu charter granted by Mr Alexander Forrest, provost of the Collegiate church of the blessed Mary-in-the-Fields near Edin^r, and by the prebends of the said church," bearing date 1554, wherein, among other reasons specified, it is stated: "considering that ther houses, especialy ther hospital annexed and incorporated with ther college, were burnt down and destroyed by their auld enemies of England, so that nothing of their said hospital was

¹ Bannatyne Misc. vol. ii. p. 221.

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² Ante, vol. i. p. 78.

³ Lesley, p. 275.

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left, but they are altogether waste and entirely destroyed; wherethrough the divine worship is not a little decreased in the college, because they were unable to rebuild the said hospital; . . . Therefore they gave, granted, set in feu farme, and confirmed to a magnificent and illustrious Prince, James Duke of Chattelarault, Earl of Arran, Lord Hamilton, &c., all and hail their tenement or hospital, with the yards and pertinents thereof; lying within the burgh of Edinburgh in the street or wynd called School-House Wynd, on the east part thereof." The Duke of Chatellherault appears, from frequent allusions by contemporary annals, to have built a mansion for his own use on the site of the Hospital of St Mary's Collegiate Church, which afterwards served as the first hall of the new college. The Town Council proceeded leisurely, yet with hearty zeal, in the gradual extension of the college; and frequent notices in the Council Records prove the progress of the buildings. On the 25th June 1656, the following entry occurs:—"For the better carieing on of the buildinges in the colledge, there is a necessetie to break down and demolishe the hous neirest to the Patterraw Port, quich now the *Court du Guaird* possesseth; thairfoir ordaines the thesaurer, with John Milne, to visite the place, and to doe therein what they find expedient, as weill for demolishing the said hous, as for provyding the *Court du Guaird* uterwayis." Private citizens largely promoted the same laudable object, not only by pecuniary contributions, but by building halls and suits of chambers at their own cost. No regular plan, however, was adopted, and the old college buildings at the time of their demolition presented a rude assemblage of edifices of various dates and very little pretension to ornament.

Beyond the walls of the capital the ancient parish church of Restalrig was erected by James III. into a collegiate church for a dean and canons; and the college was subsequently enlarged both by James IV. and V., as well as by numerous contributions from private individuals. It must have been a large church, with probably collegiate buildings of considerable extent attached to it, if we may judge from the uses to which its materials were applied.¹ The village also appears to have been a place of much greater size and importance than we can form any conception of from its present remains. It was no doubt in early times the chief town of the barony, and a much more extensive one than the Port of Leith. During the siege of the latter in 1559-60, Bishop Lesley informs us that "the Lord Gray, lieutenant of the Inglis army ludged in Lestalrig toun, in the Deanis hous, and mony of all thair hors and demi-lances."² The choir, which is the only part that has escaped demolition, is a comparatively small, though very neat specimen of decorated English Gothic. It remained in a ruinous state until a few years since, when it was restored and fitted up with some degree of taste as a Chapel of Ease for the neighbouring district. A church is believed to have existed here at a very early period, as it was celebrated for the tomb of Saint Triduana, a noble virgin who is said to have come from Achaia in the fourth century, in company with St Rule, and to have died at Restalrig. Her tomb was the resort of numerous pilgrims, and the scene as was believed of many miracles.³ By a charter of James IV., dated a few months before the battle of Flodden, the Abbots of

¹ Ante, vol. i. p. 83.

² Lesley, p. 284.

³ The miracles ascribed to St Triduana were chiefly wrought on diseased eyes; and she is accordingly frequently painted carrying her eyes on a salver or on the point of a sword. Lindsay speaks of pilgrims going "to St Tredwell to mend their ene;" and again in his curious inventory of saints in *The Monarchie*:—

Sanct Tredwall, als, thare may be scen,
Quhilk on ane prick hes baith her ene.

Holyrood and Newbottle are empowered to erect into a new prebendary the chapelry of St Triduan's aisle, founded in the Collegiate Church of Restalrig by James Bishop of Ross. The existence both of the church and parish at the death of Alexander III. is proved by various charters. In 1291, Adam of St Edmunds, parson of Lestalric, obtained a writ to the Sheriff of Edinburgh to put him in possession of his lands and rights; and the same ecclesiastic swore fealty to Edward in 1296.¹ The portion of the choir now remaining cannot date earlier than the fourteenth century, and is much plainer than might be expected in a church enriched by the contributions of three successive monarchs, and the resort of so many devout pilgrims as to excite the special indignation of one of the earliest assemblies of the Kirk as a monument of idolatry. An ancient crypt or mausoleum of an octangular form and of large dimensions, stands on the south side of the church. It is constructed internally with a groined roof springing from a single pillar in the centre; and is still more beautifully adorned externally with some venerable yews that have taken root in the soil accumulated on its roof. This ancient mausoleum is believed to have been erected by Sir Robert Logan, of Restalrig, knight, in the earlier part of the sixteenth century,² and has evidently been constructed on the model of St Margaret's Well, which still stands in its neighbourhood. It afterwards became the property of the Lords Balmerinoch, and on their forfeiture in 1746 it passed to the Earls of Bute, whose property it now remains. In the year 1560 the Assembly, by a decree dated December 21, "finds that the ministrie of the word and sacraments of God, and assemblie of the peiple of the whole parochin of Restalrig, be within the Kirk of Leith; and that the Kirk of Restalrig, as a monument of idolatrie, be raysit and utterly castin down and destroyed;"³ and eleven years thereafter we find its materials taken to build a new port at the Nether Bow.

Not far from the ancient Collegiate Church of Restalrig, on the old road to Holyrood Abbey, is the beautiful Gothic Well dedicated to St Margaret, the Patron Saint of Scotland. An octagonal building rises internally to the height of about four and a half feet, of plain ashlar work, with a stone ledge or seat running round seven of the sides, while the eighth is occupied by a pointed arch which forms the entrance to the well. From the centre of the water which fills the whole area of the building, pure as in the days of the pious Queen, a decorated pillar rises to the same height as the walls, with grotesque gurgils, from which the water has originally been made to flow. Above this springs a beautiful groined roof, presenting, with the ribs that rise from corresponding corbels at each of the eight angles of the building, a singularly rich effect when illuminated by the reflected light from the water below. A few years since this curious fountain stood by the side of the ancient and little frequented cross-road leading from the Abbey Hill to the village of Restalrig. A fine old elder tree, with its knotted and furrowed branches, spread a luxuriant covering over its grass-grown top, and a rustic little thatched cottage stood in front of it, forming altogether a most attractive object of antiquarian pilgrimage. Unhappily, however, the inexorable march of modern improvement has visited the spot. A station of the North British Railway now occupies the site of the old elder tree and the rustic cottage; and the well has to be sought for within the recesses of a dark and unsightly drain, grudge-

¹ Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 785.

² "Obitus domini Roberti Logane, militis, donatoris fundi preceptorie Sancti Anthonii prope Leith, anno Domini 1439." Obituary of the Preceptory of St Anthony.

³ The Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 5.

ingly constructed by the Railway Directors after an interdict had arrested them in the process of demolishing the ancient Gothic building, and stopping the fountain, whose miraculous waters—once the resort of numerous pilgrims,—seem to find a few, even in our own day, who manifest the same faith in their healing virtues.¹

Most of the smaller convents and chapels within the capital have already been treated of along with the other features of their ancient localities. One, however, still remains to be noticed, not the least value of which is, that it still exists entire, and with some unusually rare relics of its original decorations. In early times there existed in the Cowgate, a little to the east of the old monastery of the Greyfriars, an ancient *Maison Dieu*, as it was styled, which, having fallen into decay, was refounded in the reign of James V., chiefly by the contributions of Michael Macquhen, a wealthy citizen of Edinburgh, and afterwards of his widow, Janet Rynd. The hospital and chapel were dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, and by the will of the foundress were left in trust to the Corporation of Hammermen, by whom the latter is now used as a hall for their own meetings. The foundation was subsequently augmented by two several donations from Hugh Lord Somerville in 1541; and though the buildings doubtless shared in the general ruin that swept over the capital in 1544, they must have been very speedily repaired, as the windows are still adorned with the ancient painted glass, containing the royal arms of Scotland encircled with a wreath of thistles, and those of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, within a laurel wreath, along with the shields of the founder and foundress, also enclosed in ornamental borders. One other fragment, a Saint Bartholomew, has strangely escaped the general massacre of 1559, that involved the destruction of all the other apostles. The workmanship of the latter is decidedly inferior to that of the heraldic emblazonry,—its hues have evidently faded; while the deep ruby and bright yellow of the royal arms still exhibit the unrivalled brilliancy of the old glass painters' work. These fragments of ancient painted glass possess a peculiar value, as scarcely another specimen of the art in Scotland has escaped the destructive fury of the reforming mobs. Another unusual, though not equally rare feature, is the tomb of the foundress, which remains at the east end of the chapel, with the inscription round its border in ancient Gothic characters:—

*Meir lvis ane honorabil woman, Janet Rynd, ye
Spous of umquhil Michel Makquhen, burges
of Ed. founder of p's plate, and decessit ye
iiii day of Decem^r. A^o. dno. m^o. l^o. liij.*²

The centre of the stone is occupied with the arms of the founders, husband and wife, impaled on one shield. This sculptured slab is now level with a platform which occupies the

¹ Lectures on the Antiquities of Edinburgh, by a Member of the Holy Guild of St Joseph. Part iv. p. 126.

² The date assigned by Pennecuik for the death of the foundress is 1553; but this seems to be a mistake. She speaks in the charter of her husband having resolved on this Christian work when "greatly troubled with a heavy disease, and oppressed with age," and as his endowment is dated 1503, this would make his widow survive him exactly half a century. The date on the tomb is difficult to decipher, being much worn, but it appears to be 1507. The deed executed by her is said to be dated so late as 1545, but the original is lost, and only a partial transcript exists among the records of the Corporation of Hammermen. If such be the correct date, it is strange that no notice should be taken of the burning of the town by the English the previous year, although the deed refers to property lying in the High Street, and in various closes and wynds, which must then have been in ruins, or just rising from their ashes. The deed of 1545 is possibly an abstract of previous ones, including those of Lord Somerville, as it specifies his barony of Carnwath Miln, without naming him.

east end of the chapel for the accommodation of the officials of the Corporation of Hammermen during their meetings ; but it is probable from its elevation that it is an altar tomb, the sides of which may also be decorated with sculpture, though so long hidden by the Corporation *Dais*. The date of the foundation of the hospital is 1503, but the charter by which its augmentation and permanent establishment was secured by the widow of its founder is said to be dated so late as 1545—the year succeeding the total destruction of the whole town. It is at any rate a document of that age, and is not only curious as one of the latest deeds executed for such a purpose, but is characterized by a degree of naivete as rare in legal documents of the sixteenth century as now. It runs thus :—“ To all and sundry, to whoso knowledge thir presents sall come, and be seen, I Jonet Ryne, relict, executrix, and only intromissatrix, with the guds and gear of umquhil Michael Macquhan, burges of Edinburgh, wishing peace in our Lord, makes known by thir presents, That when the said Michael was greatly troubled with an heavy disease, and oppressed with age, zit mindful of eternal life, he esteemed it ane gud way to obtain eternal life to erect some christian work, for ever to remain and endure : He left seven hundred pound, to be employed for the supplement of the edifice of the Magdalen chapell, and to the other edifices, for foundation of the chapel and sustentation of seven poor men, who should continually there put forth their prayers to God Almighty ; for there was many others that had promised to mortifye some portion of their goods for perfeiting and absolveing of the said wark, but they failzied, and withdrew from such an holly and religious work, and altogether refused thereupon to confer the samen. Quhilk thing I taking heavily, and pondering it in my heart, what in such an dificle business sould be done ; at last, I thought night and day upon the fulfilling of my husband’s will, and took upon me the burden of the haill wark, and added two thousand pound to the £700. left be my husband : And I did put furth these soumes wholly, after his death, upon the edification of that chapel, ornaments thereof, and building of the edifice for the habitation of the chaplane, and seven poor men, and for buying of land, as well field-land, as burgh-land, and yearly annualrents, for the nourishment, sustentation, and clothing of them, as hereafter mair largely set down. *Therefore, wit ye me,* To the praise and honour of Almighty God, and of his mother the Blisshed Virgin Mary, and of Mary Magdallen, and of the haill celestial court, to have erected and edified ane certain chapell and hospital-house, lyeing in the burgh of Edinburgh, upon the south side of the King’s high street, called the Cowgate, for habitation of the foresaid chaplain and poor, and that from the foundation thereof ; and has dedicate the samen to the name of Mary Magdallen, and has foundit the said chaplain, and seven poor, for to give forth their continual prayers unto God, for the salvation of the soul of our most illustrious Mary Queen of Scots, and for the salvation of my said umquhil husband’s soul and mine : And also, for the salvation of the souls of our fathers and mothers, and for all the souls of those that shall put to their helping hand, or sall give any thing to this work : As also, for the patrons of the said chapel : And also, for the souls of all those of whom we have had any thing whilk we have not restored, and for the whilk we have not given satisfaction ; to have given and granted, and by this my present charter in poor and perpetual alms, and to have confirmed in mortification : As also, to give and grant, and by this present charter, gives in poor alms and mortification, to confirm to Almighty God, with the Blessed Virgin Mary, the said chapell and chapell-house, for the sustentation of ane secular chaplain, and seven poor men, and

for the chaplain, and four poor brethren, to have their yearly food, and perpetual sustentation within the said hospital; and for buying of their habits every twa year once, I mortify these annualrents under-written," &c.¹ After very minute directions for the appointment of the chaplain and the management of the hospital, it is provided:—"And farder, the said chaplane, every year, once in the year, for the said Michael and Jonet, sall make suffrages, which is, 'I am pleased,' and 'direct me, O Lord;,' with ane Mess of rest, 'being naked, he clothed me;,' with two wax candles burning on the altar. To the whilk suffrages and mess, he shall cause ring the chapel bell the space of ane quarter of an hour, and that all the foresaid poor, and others that shall be thereintill, shall be present at the foresaid mess with their habites, requesting all these that shall come in to hear the said mess to pray for the said souls. And farder, every day of the blessed Mary Magdallen, patron of the foresaid hospital, and the day of the indulgence of the said hospital, and every other day of the year, the said chaplaine shall offer up all the oblations, and for every oblation shall have twa wax candles upon the altar, and twa at the foot of the image of the patron in twa brazen candlesticks, and twa wax torches on the feast of the nativity of our Saviour, Pasch, and Whitsunday, of the days of Mary Magdallen, and of the days of the indulgences granted to the said hospital, and doubleing at other great feasts, with twa wax candles alenerly." Such were the provisions for the due observance of all the formulary of the services of the Church, which the chaplain on his induction was bound "to give his great oath, by touching the sacred Evangile," that he would neither infringe nor suffer to be altered. It is probable that the chapel was hardly built ere the whole scheme of its founders was totally overthrown. Certain evidence at least tends to show, that neither the steeple nor its fine toned bell ever fulfilled the will of the foundress, by summoning the bedemen and all who chose to muster at the call to pray for the repose of the founders' souls. The chapel is adorned at its east end with the royal arms, the city arms, and the armorial bearing of twenty-two corporations, who unite to form the ancient body known as the United Incorporation of Hammermen, the guardians of the sacred banner, the Blue Blanket, on the unfurling of which every liege burgher of the kingdom is bound to answer the summons. The north and east walls of the chapel are almost entirely occupied with a series of tablets recording the gifts of numerous benefactors. The earliest of these is probably a daughter of the founder, "Isobel Macquhane, spous to Gilbt Lauder, merchant burges of Edinr, who bigged ye crose house, and mortified £50 yearly out of the Cousland, anno 1555." Another records, that "John Spens, burges of Edinburgh, bestowed 100 lods of Wesland lime for building the stipel of this chapell, anno 1621." Here, therefore, is the date of erection of the steeple, which receives corroboration from its general features, with the old fashioned gurgoils in the form of ornamental cannons, each with a bullet ready to issue from its mouth. The furnishing of the steeple with "The Chapel Bell," appears to have been the subject of still further delay, as the bell bears this legend around it, in Roman characters:—SOLI DEO GLORIA · MICHAEL BURGERHUYS ME FECIT, ANNO 1632; and in smaller characters, GOD BLIS THE HAMMERMEN OF MAGDALENE CHAPEL." The bell is still rung according to the will of the foundress, however different be the objects answered by its warning note; and it was further applied, soon

¹ Hist. of the Blue Blanket, &c., by Alexander Pennecuik, p. 46-48.

after its erection, to summon the inhabitants of the neighbouring district to the parish church, as appears from the Corporation records:—"16 June, 1641, the Grayfriars Kirk-Session applied to the Corporation, in order to have the Magdalene Chapple bell rung on their account, for which they agreed to pay £40 Scots yearly, which was agreed to during pleasure."¹

This ancient chapel claims our interest now as the arena of proceedings strangely different from those contemplated by its founders. In 1560, John Craig, a Scottish Dominican monk, returned to his native country after an absence of twenty-four years, during which he had experienced a succession of as remarkable vicissitudes as are recorded of any individual in that eventful age. He had resided as chaplain in the family of Lord Dacre, an English nobleman, and was afterwards appointed to an honourable office in the Dominican monastery at Bologna, through the favourable recommendations of the celebrated Cardinal Pole. The chance discovery of a copy of Calvin's Institutes in the convent library led to an entire change in his religious opinions, in consequence of which he was compelled to fly; and being at length seized, he endured a tedious imprisonment in the dungeons of the Roman Inquisition. From this he was delivered the very day before that fixed for an Auto-da-fé in which he was doomed to suffer at the stake, in consequence of the tumultuous rejoicing of the Roman population on the death of the Pope, Paul IV., in 1559, when the buildings of the Inquisition were pillaged, and its dungeons broken open. Thence he escaped, amid many strange adventures, first to Bologna, and then to Vienna, where he was appointed chaplain to the Emperor Maximilian II. After a time, however, the Inquisition found him out, and demanded his being delivered up to suffer the judgment already decreed. This it was that compelled his return to Scotland, at the very time when his countrymen were carrying out a system in conformity with his new opinions. He found, however, on revisiting his country after so long an absence, that he had almost entirely forgot his native tongue, and he accordingly preached in Latin for a considerable time, in St Magdalene's Chapel, to such scholars as his learning and abilities attracted to hear him. He afterwards became the colleague and successor of Knox, and as such published the banns of marriage in St Giles's Church, preparatory to the fatal union of Queen Mary with Bothwell. We learn also from Melville's Diary, that "The Generall Assemblie conveinit at Edinbruche in Apryll 1578, in the Magdalen Chapell. Mr Andro Melvill was chosin Moderator, whar was concludit, That Bischopes sould be callit be thair awin names, or be the names of *Breither* in all tyme coming, and that lordlie name and authoritie banissed from the Kirk of God, quhilk hes bot a Lord, Chryst Jesus."² One other incident concerning the ancient chapel worthy of recording is, that in 1661, the body of the Marquis of Argyle was carried thither, and lay in the chapel for some days, until it was removed by his friends to the family sepulchre at Kilmun, while his head was affixed to the north gable of the Tolbooth.

The Abbey of Holyrood, though a far more wealthy and important ecclesiastical establishment than St Giles's College, or any other of the ancient religious foundations of the Scottish capital, may be much more summarily treated of here. Its foundation charter still exists, and the dates of its successive enlargements and spoliations have been made

¹ *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. p. 177.

² Melville's Diary, Wodrow Soc. p. 61.

the subject of careful investigation by some of our ablest historians. The foundation of St David's Abbey has already been referred to, with the picturesque legend from whence it derives its name. The beautiful fragment of the Abbey Church which still remains, forming the nave of the ancient building, retains numerous traces of the original work of the twelfth century, though enriched by the additions of a later age. The earliest drawing of the Abbey and Palace that exists is, the bird's-eye view of 1544, where it is marked by its English draughtsman as "the King of Skotts palis," although the sole claimant to the throne at that date was the infant daughter of James V. A comparison of this with the portions still remaining leaves little doubt of its general accuracy. The Abbey Church appears with a second square tower at the west front, uniform with the one still standing to the north of the great doorway. The transepts are about the usual proportions, but the choir is much shorter than it is proved from other evidence to have originally been, the greater part of it having, perhaps, been reduced to ruins before the view was taken. During the levelling of the ground around the Palace, and digging a foundation for the substantial railing with which it was recently enclosed, the workmen came upon the bases of two pillars, in a direct line with the nave, on the site of the east railings, proving that the ancient choir had been of unusual length. A mound of earth which extends still further to the east, no doubt marks the foundations of other early buildings, and from their being in the direct line of the building, it is not improbable that a Lady Chapel, or other addition to the Abbey Church may have stood to the east of the choir, as is frequently the case in larger cathedral and abbey churches. A curious relic of the ancient tenants of the monastery was found by the workmen already referred to, consisting of a skull, which had no doubt formed the solitary companion of one of the monks. It had a hole in the top of the cranium, which served most probably for securing a crucifix; and over the brow was traced in antique characters the appropriate maxim, *Memento Mori*. This solitary relic of the furniture of the Abbey was procured by the late Sir Patrick Walker, and is still in the possession of his family. The English army that "brent the abbey called Holyrode house, and the pallice adjonyng to the same," in 1544, returned to complete the destruction of the Abbey in 1547, almost immediately after the accession of Edward VI. to his father's throne. Their proceedings are thus recorded by the English chronicler:—"Thear stode south-westward, about a quarter of a mile from our campe, a monasteric: they call it Hollyroode Abbey. Sir Water Bonham and Edward Chamberlayne gat lycense to suppress it; whearupon these commissioners, making first theyr visitacion thear, they found the moonkes all gone, but the church and mooch parte of the house well covered with leade. Soon after, thei pluct of the leade and had down the bels, which wear but two; and according to the statute, did somewhat hearby disgrace the hous. As touching the moonkes, bicaus they wear gone, thei put them to their pencions at large."¹ It need hardly excite surprise, that the invaders should not find matters quite according to the statute, with so brief an interval between such *visitacions*. The state in which they did find the Abbey, proves that it had been put in effectual repair immediately after their former visit.

The repeated burnings of the Abbey by the English army were doubtless the chief

¹ Patten's Expedition to Scotland. Frag. of Scot. Hist.

cause of the curtailment of the church to its present diminished size; yet abundant evidence remains to show that the choir and transepts were in existence fully a quarter of a century later, and that had the necessary exertions been then made for its repair, we might still have possessed the ancient building in its original and magnificent proportions, instead of the ruined nave, which alone remains to show what once had been. In "the heads of the accusation and chief offences laid to Adam, Bishop of Orkney, his charge," by the General Assembly of 1569, the fifth is, that "all the said kirks, for the most part, wherein Christs evangell may be preached, are decayed, and made, some sheepfolds, and some so ruinous, that none darre enter into them for fear of falling; specially Halrudhouse, although the bishop of Sanct Andrews, in time of papistry, sequestrate the whole rents of the said abbacy, because only the glassen windows were not holden up and repaired."¹ To this the Bishop replied, "That the Abbay Church of Halyrudhouse hath been, these 20 years bygane, ruinous through decay of two principall pillars, so that none were assured under it; and two thousand pounds bestowed upon it, would not be sufficient to ease men to the hearing of the word, and ministration of the sacraments. But with their consent, and help of ane established authority, he was purposed to provide the means, that the superfluous ruinous parts, to wit, the Queir and Croce Kirk, might be dispoised be faithfull men, to repair the remanent sufficiently."² The Bishop's economical plan was no doubt put in force, and the whole of the choir and transept soon after demolished and sold, to provide funds for converting the nave into the Parish Kirk of the Canongate. The two western pillars, designed to support a great central tower, now form the sides of the east window constructed within the arch, and an examination of the masonry with which the lower parts of this and the side arches are closed, shows that it is entirely built with fragments of clustered shafts and other remains of the ruins. It was at this time, we presume, that the new royal vault was constructed in the south aisle of the nave, and the remains of the Scottish kings removed from their ancient resting place near the high altar of the Abbey Church. It is built against the ancient Norman doorway of the cloisters, which still remains externally, with its beautiful shafts and zigzag mouldings, an undoubted relic of the original fabric of St David. The cloisters appear to have enclosed a large court, formed in the angle of the nave and south transept. The remains of the north side are clearly traceable still, and the site of the west side is now occupied by the Palace buildings. Here was the ambulatory for the old monks, when the magnificent foundation of St David retained its pristine splendour, and it remained probably till the burning of the Abbey after the death of James V. We learn on the occasion of the marriage of James IV. with the Princess Margaret of England, that "after all reverences doon at the Church, in ordere as before, the Kyng transported himself to the Pallais, through the clostre, holdynge always the Queen by the body, and hys hed bare, till he had brought hyr within her chammer."

The west front, as it now remains, is evidently the work of very different periods. It has been curtailed of the south tower to admit of the completion of the quadrangle according to the design of Sir William Bruce, and the singular and unique windows over the great doorway are evidently additions of the time of Charles I., whose initials appear

¹ Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 163.

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² Ibid, p. 167.

below, on the oak beam of the great doorway. Between the windows an ornamental tablet of the same date, and decorated in the style of the period, bears the inscription:—*BASILICAM HANC, CAROLVS REX, OPTIMVS INSTAVRAVIT, 1633*; with the further addition in English:—*HE SHALL BUILD A HOUSE FOR MY NAME, AND I WILL ESTABLISH THE THRONE OF HIS KINGDOM FOR EVER*; a motto of strange significance, when we consider the events that so speedily befell its inscriber, and the ruin that overwhelmed the royal race of the Stuarts, as with the inevitable stroke of destiny. The chief portions of the west front, however, are in the most beautiful style of early English, which succeeded that of the Norman. The details on the west front of the tower, in particular, with its elaborately sculptured arcade, and boldly cut heads between the arches, and the singularly rich variety of ornament in the great doorway, altogether unite to form a specimen of early ecclesiastical architecture unsurpassed by any building of similar dimensions in the kingdom. A beautiful doorway on the north side, in a much later style, is evidently the work of Abbot Crawford, by whom the buttresses of the north side were rebuilt as they now remain, in the ornate style of the fifteenth century. He succeeded to the abbacy in 1457, and according to his namesake, in the "Lives of Officers of State," he rebuilt the Abbey Church from the ground. Abundant evidence still exists in the ruins that remain to disprove so sweeping a statement, but the repetition of his arms on various parts of the building prove the extensive alterations that were effected under his directions. He was succeeded by Abbot Ballantyne, equally celebrated as a builder, who appears to have completed the work which his predecessor had projected. Father Hay records, that "he



brocht hame the gret bellis, the gret brasin fownt, twintie fowr capis of gold and silk; he maid ane chalice of fine gold, ane eucharist, with sindry chalicis of silver; he theikkit the kirk with leid; he biggit ane brig of Leith, ane othir our Clide; with many othir gude workis, qwilkis ware our prolix to schaw."¹ The brazen font here mentioned was carried off by Sir Richard Lee, captain of the English pioneers in the Earl of Hertford's army, and presented to the Abbey Church of St Alban's, with a gasconading Latin inscription engraved on it, which may be thus rendered:—"When Leith, a town of some celebrity in Scotland, and Edinburgh the chief city of that nation, were on fire, Sir Richard Lee, Knight of the Garter, snatched me from the flames, and brought me to England. In gratitude for such kindness, I who heretofore served only to baptize the children of Kings, now offer the same service to the meanest of the English nation. Lee, the conqueror, so wills it. Farewell. A.D. 1543-4. 36 Hen. VIII." This font a second time experienced the fate of war, during the commotions of Charles I.'s reign, when the ungrateful *Southron*, heedless of its condescending professions, sold it as a lump of useless metal.² Seacome, in his history of the House of Stanley, refers to an old but somewhat confused tradition of an ancestor of the family of Norris of Speke Hall, Lancashire, who commanded a company, as would appear from other sources, at the battle of Pinkie, "in token whereof, he brought

¹ Liber Cartarum, p. xxxii.

² Camden's Britannia, by Gough, vol. i. p. 338; where the original Latin inscription is given.

from the deceased King of Scots' Palace all or most of his princely library, many books of which are now at Speke, particularly four large folios, said to contain the Records and Laws of Scotland at that time. He also brought from the said Palace the Wainscot of the King's Hall, and put it up in his own Hall at Speke, wherein are seen all the orders of architecture, as Tuscan, Dorick, Ionick, Corinthian, and Composite; and round the top of it this inscription, 'SLEEPE . NOT . TILL . YE . HATHE . CONSEDERD . HOW . THOW . HAST . SPENT . YE . DAY . PAST . IF . THOW . HAVE . WELL . DON . THANK . GOD . IF . OTHER . WAYS . REPENT YE.'"¹ Speke Hall still exists as one of the fine old manor-houses of Lancashire, and could this tradition be relied on would form an object of peculiar attraction, as the antique wainscot with its quaint moral still adorns the great hall. It proves, however, to be the work of a later age, corresponding to similar specimens in the neighbouring halls, erected in the reign of Elizabeth. It might, indeed, be confidently affirmed, that the Roman orders were not introduced into Scotland till a considerably later period; but the above description answers very partially to the original. The tradition, however, is probably not altogether without foundation. Two figures of angels, richly gilt, "in form such as are introduced under consoles in Gothic architecture," formerly surmounted the wainscot, evidently no part of the original design, and these, it is conjectured, may have been among the spoils which were carried off from the Palace in 1547.²

The Abbey of Holyrood frequently afforded accommodation to the Scottish Court, before the addition of a distinct royal dwelling to the ancient monastic buildings. This, it is probable, was not effected till the reign of James IV. It is certain, at any rate, that large sums were spent by him in building and decorating the Palace during the interval of four years between his betrothment and marriage to Margaret of England. In the map to which we have so frequently referred, the present north-west tower, which forms the only ancient portion of the Palace as it now stands, is shown standing almost apart, and only joined to the south-west tower of the Abbey Church by a low cloister. To the south of this appears an irregular group of buildings, of considerable extent, and apparently covered with tiles, while the whole houses in the Canongate seem, from the colouring of the drawing, to be only thatched. It is not necessary, however, further to investigate the early history of the Palace here, as most of the remarkable historical incidents associated with it have already been referred to.

The latest writer who has left any account of the old Palace is John Taylor, the Water poet, in the amusing narrative of his *Pennyless Pilgrimage to Scotland in 1618*. The following is his description:—"I was at his Majestie's Palace, a stately and Princely seate, wherein I saw a sumptuous Chappell, most richly adorned with all appurtenances belonging to so sacred a place, or so Royall an owner. In the inner court I saw the King's Armes cunningly carved in stone, and fixed over a doore aloft on the wall, the red Lyon being the Crest, over which was written this inscription in Latin:—*Nobis hæc invicta miserunt 106 Proavi*. I enquired what the English of it was? it was told me as followeth, which I thought worthy to be recorded,—*106 Fore-fathers have left this to us unconquered*;"—an interpretation which leads the Water poet into a series of very loyal reflections on "this

¹ Vide *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv.; from whence the inscription is correctly given.

² *Ibid*, p. 14.

worthy and memorable motto!" The visit of Taylor to the Palace and Chapel was almost immediately after that of James VI. to Scotland, so that he no doubt saw them in all the splendour which had been prepared for the King's reception. The Palace was probably abandoned to neglect and decay after the last visit of Charles I. in 1641, otherwise it is probable that Cromwell would have taken up his abode there during his residence in Edinburgh. The improvements, however, effected by Charles, both on the Palace and Abbey Church, appear to have been considerable. One beautiful memorial of his residence there is the elaborately carved sun-dial which still adorns the north garden of the Palace, and is usually known as Queen Mary's Dial, although the cipher of her grandson, with those of his Queen and the Prince of Wales, are repeated on its most prominent carvings. The Palace was converted into barracks by Cromwell soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, and, as Nicoll relates, "ane number of the Englisches futemen being ludgit within the Abay of Haly Rud Hous, it fell out that upone an Weddinsday, being the threttene day of November, 1650, the hail royall pairt of that palice wes put in flame, and brint to the ground on all the pairtes thairof."¹ The diarist, however, has afterwards qualified this sweeping assertion by adding, "except a lyttel;" and there is good reason for believing that the oldest portion of the Palace, usually known as James the Fifth's Tower, entirely escaped the conflagration, as its furniture, if not so old as Queen Mary's time, certainly at least dates in the reign of Charles I., some of it being marked with the cipher of that monarch and his Queen, Henrietta Maria. A fac-simile of a rare print, after a drawing by Gordon of Rothiemay, in the first volume of the Bannatyne Miscellany, preserves the only view of the Palace that has come down to us as it existed prior to this conflagration. The main entrance appears to occupy nearly the same site as at present. It is flanked on either side by round embattled towers, or rather semicircular bow windows, between which is a large pannel, surmounting the grand gateway, and bearing the royal arms of Scotland. A uniform range of building, pierced with large windows, extends on either side, and is flanked on the north by the great tower which still remains, but finished above the battlements as represented in the vignette on page 34 of volume I. The empty pannels also which still remain in the front turrets appear to have been filled with sculptured armorial bearings. No corresponding tower existed at the south-west corner of the building until its remodeling by Sir William Bruce.

The Palace was speedily rebuilt by order of the Protector, but his work came under revision soon after the Restoration. The directions given by Charles II. for its alteration and completion enter into the minutest details, among which such commands as the following were probably dictated with peculiar satisfaction:—"Wee doe hereby order you to cause that parte thereof which was built by the usurpers, and doth darken the court, to be taken down."² The zeal with which both Charles II. and James VII. devoted them-

¹ Nicoll's Diary, p. 35.

² Royal Warrants. Liber. Cart. p. cxxix. The royal orders would appear to have been occasionally departed from, e. g.—The Earl of Lauderdale writes, by command of Charles II., in 1671:—"His Majesty likes the front very well as it is Designed, provided the gate where the King's coach is to come in be large enough, As also he likes the taking doune of that narrow upper parte which was built in Cromwell's time. Hee likes not the covering of all that betwixt the two great toures with platform at the second storie, but would have it heightened to a third storie, as all the inner court is, and sklaited with skaily as the rest of the court is to be;" in all which respects the original design has evidently been carried out, notwithstanding his Majesty's directions to the contrary.

selves to the restoration of the ancient palace of their fathers, would almost seem to imply the forethought of securing a fit retreat for them in the ancient capital of the Stuarts, in case of their being again driven from the English throne. On the north-west pier of the piazza, within the quadrangle of the Palace, the following inscription, in large Roman characters, marks the site of the foundation stone of the modern works :—FVN · BE · RO · MYLNE · MM · IVL · 1671 ·

The chief popular interest which attaches to the Palace arises from its associations with the eventful reign of Queen Mary, and the romance that clings to the name of her unfortunate descendant Prince Charles, though there is a nameless charm about the gray ruins of the abbey, and the deserted halls of the Palace of our old kings, which no Scotsman can resist. A noble and a doomed race have passed away for ever from these scenes of many a dark tragedy in which they acted or suffered, yet not without leaving memories to haunt the place, and all the more vividly that no fortunate rival intrudes to break the spell. In the accompanying engraving of the interior of the Chapel, a point of view has been chosen which shows the royal vault, the cloister door behind it, the Roxburgh vault, and the monument of Adam, Bishop of Orkney, attached to one of the pillars,—a group including some of the most interesting features of the ruined nave. The royal vault was broken into by the revolutionary mob that spoiled the Chapel Royal in 1688, and it was again rifled after the fall of the roof in 1768 in consequence of the folly of those employed to repair it, who loaded it with a covering of huge flagstones, of a weight altogether disproportioned to the strength and age of the walls. On the latter occasion, the head of Queen Magdalene,—which, when seen by Arnot in 1766, was entire, and even beautiful,—and the skull of Darnley were carried off. The latter having come into the possession of Mr James Cummyng of the Lyon Office, the eccentric secretary of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, his life was rendered miserable thereafter by the persecutions of the shrewish cicerone of the Chapel, who haunted him like the ghost of the murdered Darnley, and lived on his terrors by constant threats of exposure to the Barons of Exchequer. After his death the skull was traced to the collection of a statuary in Edinburgh, but all clue to it seems now lost.

A few old portraits, with sundry relics of the various noble occupants of the Palace in earlier times, form the only other objects of attraction to the curious visitor. Among the pictures in the Duke of Hamilton's apartments, is one of the many questionable portraits of Queen Mary. It claims to be an original, in the dress in which she was executed, though, if the latter statement be true, it goes far to discredit its originality. Another fair lady, dressed as a shepherdess, and described as the work of Vandyke, though probably only a copy, is a portrait of Dorothy, Countess of Sutherland,—Waller's *Sacharissa*. Here, too, are the portraits of two celebrated royal favourites, Jane Shore and Nell Gwynne, as the ciceroni of the Palace invariably persist in styling the latter, though in reality a portrait of her frail rival Moll Davies, and bearing a striking resemblance to her engraved portrait. It corresponds also to the latter in having black hair, whereas that of Nell was fair; but it is usual to confer the name of Nell Gwynne on all portraits of such frail beauties.¹

¹ From Nell Gwynne's will, dated Oct. 18, 1687, and preserved at Doctors Commons, it appears that her real name was Margaret Symcott; so that the story of her descent from an ancient Welsh family is a spurious invention of courtly peerage writers, for the gratification of her illustrious descendants.

Among the representatives of the rougher sex in this very miscellaneous assemblage, is a very sour-looking divine, dubbed John Knox, and a grave clergyman, probably of the time of Charles I., whose red calotte or skull-cap, we presume, led to his being engraved both by Pennant and Pinkerton as Cardinal Beaton.¹ In the Marquis of Breadalbane's apartments there is a full-length portrait of Lady Isabella Thynne, daughter of the Earl of Holland, who perished on the scaffold during the great civil war. The lady is represented with a lute in her hand, for her great skill on which she is celebrated in the poems of Waller. Aubrey relates that her sister, "The beautiful Lady Diana Rich, as she was walking in her father's garden at Kenington, to take the fresh air before dinner, about eleven o'clock, being then very well, met with her own apparition, habit, and every thing, as in a looking-glass." She died about a month thereafter of the smallpox; and her sister, the Lady Isabella, is affirmed to have received a similar warning before her death.² These and other portraits adorn the various lodgings of the different noblemen who possess apartments in the Palace; but many of them being the private property of the noble lodgers, can hardly be considered as part of the decorations of Holyrood. The latest contribution to its walls is Wilkie's full-length portrait of George IV., in the Highland costume, as he appeared on his visit to the northern capital in 1822.

A much slighter survey will suffice for the remaining ecclesiastical foundations of the Scottish capital, of the majority of which no vestige now remains. Among the latter is the Monastery of Blackfriars of the order of St Dominic, founded by Alexander II. in 1230, which stood on the site of the Surgical Hospital. It is styled in the foundation charters *Mansio Regis*, that monarch having, we presume, bestowed on the friars one of the royal residences for their abode. It appears to have been a wealthy foundation, subsequently enlarged by gifts from Robert I. and James III., as well as by many private donations confirmed by the latter monarch in 1473.³ The monastery was accidentally destroyed by fire in 1528; but it is probable that the church was only partially injured by the conflagration, as it appears in the view of 1544 as a large cross church, with a central tower and lofty spire. It no doubt experienced its full share in the events of that disastrous year, and it had hardly recovered from these repeated injuries when the reformers of 1558 completed its destruction.

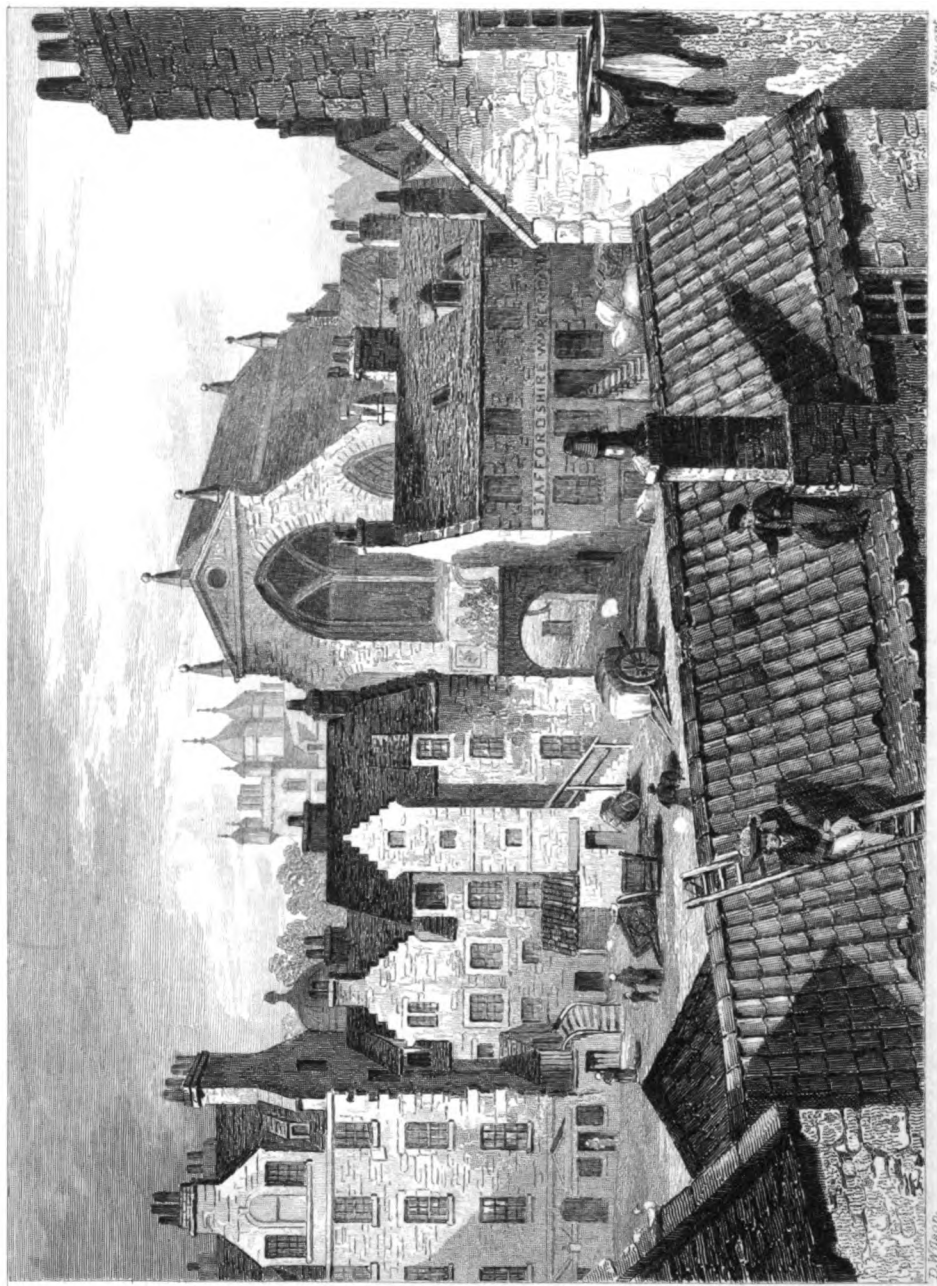
The Monastery of the Greyfriars in the Grassmarket has already been described, and the venerable cemetery which has been made from its gardens frequently referred to. Over

¹ A portrait of Cardinal Beaton, copied we believe by Chambers from an original French painting, is now at St Mary's College, Blair, and another copy of the same, hangs in the Refectory of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh. It represents him about the age of 35, when he was ambassador at the French Court. The face is oval, the features regular, and the expression somewhat pensive, but very pleasing. He wears moustaches and an imperial, and we may add, bears not the slightest resemblance to the Holyrood portrait. On the back ground of the picture the following inscription is painted, most probably copied from the original portrait:—*Le bienherevx David de Bethvne, Archevesque de St André, Chancellicre et Regent du royaume d'Ecosse, Cardinal et Legat a latere, fut massacré pour la foy en 1546.*

² Law's Memorials, preface, p. lxvi.

³ "Charter of confirmation of all Mortifications maid to the said Brethren Predicators in Edinr, viz. One made be Alexander II., of an a. rent of 10 marks *de firmis burgalibus de Edinr*. One made be George Seaton and Cristain Murray his spouse, of 20 marks yearly out of the lands of Hartshead and Clint. One made be Phillipia Moubray, Lady Barnebugle, of 20s. sterling, yearly, out of little Barnbugle. One made be Joan Barcklay of Kippe of 10s. yearly, out of the lands of Duddingstone and husband-lands thereof. One be Jo. Sudgine of 30s. 4d. out of his-tenement of Leith, on the south side of the water thereof, between Alen Nepar's land on the East and Rottenrow on the West, 14 May 1473." Inventar of Pious Donations, M.S.

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BURY. BURY CHURCH.

BURY TOWN 1846.

the entrance to the church-yard, at the foot of the Candlemaker Row, the following moral distich was originally inscribed:—

Remember Man, as thou goes by;
As thou art now, so once was I;
As I am now, so shalt thou be;
Remember Man that thou must die.¹

The principal gateway, opposite the east end of the church, is a work of more recent construction, and appears, from the records of Monteith, to have involved the destruction of the monument of no less illustrious a citizen than Alexander Miller, master tailor to King James VI., who died in the year 1616. The Old Greyfriars Church, as it was styled, was suddenly destroyed by a fire which broke out on the morning of Sunday, the 19th of January 1845, and presented to the astonished parishioners a blazing mass of ruins as they assembled for the services of the day. It bore on the north-east pillar the date 1613, and on a pannel surmounting the east gable that of 1614, underneath the city arms. It was a clumsy, inconvenient and ungainly edifice, with few historical associations and no architectural beauties to excite any regret at its removal. It is very different, however, with the surrounding church-yard, which it disfigured with its lumpish deformity. Its monuments and other memorials of the illustrious dead who repose there, form an object of attraction no less for their interesting associations than their picturesque beauty; while it is memorable in Scottish history as the scene of the signing of the Covenant by the enthusiastic leaguers of 1638, and the place of captivity, under circumstances of peculiar cruelty, of the insurgent Covenanters taken in arms at Bothwell Brig. Like other great cemeteries it forms the peaceful resting place of rival statesmen and politicians, and of many strangely diverse in life and fortune. Here mingle the ashes of George Heriot, the father of the royal goldsmith; George Buchanan; Alexander Henderson; Sir George Mackenzie; Sir James Stewart; Principal Carstairs; Sir John de Medina, the painter; Allan Ramsay; Colin MacLaurin; Thomas Ruddiman, and many others distinguished in their age for rank or genius.

The Carmelites, or Whitefriars, though introduced into Scotland in the thirteenth century, did not acquire an establishment in Edinburgh till 1518, when the Provost and Bailies conveyed, by charter dated the 13th April, "to Jo. Malcolme, provincial of the Carmelites, and his successors, y^r lands of Green-side, with the chapell or kirk of the Holy Cross y^{ro}f."² From this we learn that a chapel existed there in ancient times, of which no other record has been preserved, and adjoining it was a cross called the Rood of Greenside. It was the scene of martyrdom of David Stratoun and Norman Gourlay, a priest and layman, who were tried at Holyrood House, in the presence of James V.; and on the 27th of August 1534, were led "to a place besydis the Roode of Greynsyd, and thair thei two war boyth hanged and brunt, according to the mercy of the Papisticall Kirk."³ The tradition has already been referred to that assigns the same locality for the burning of Major Weir. On the suppression of the order of Carmelites at the Reformation, John Robertson, a benevolent merchant, founded on the site of their convent an hospital for lepers, "pursuant to a vow on his receiving a signal mercy from God." The hospital was placed under the con-

¹ Monteith's *Theatrum Mortalium*, p. 1. The last word is evidently intended to be pronounced in the old broad Scottish fashion, *dee*.

² *Inventar of Pious Donations*.

³ Knox's *Hist.*, Woodrow Soc., vol. i. p. 60.

trol of the Town Council, who drew up a series of most stringent statutes to secure the good conduct, and above all the perfect isolation of the wretched inmates. A gallows was erected at the end of the hospital to enforce obedience, and even the opening of the gate between sunset and sunrise was declared punishable with the halter. The grassy vale, within whose natural amphitheatre the earliest exhibitions of the regular drama were witnessed by the Court of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, and where the crowds of the neighbouring capital were attracted at one time by the pastimes that accompanied a *Wapinschaw*, and at another by the terrors of judicial vengeance, retained till near the close of last century nearly the same features that led to its selection for such displays in the reign of James II. Pennant, writing in 1769, remarks:—"In my walk this evening I passed by a deep and wide hollow beneath the Caltoun Hill, the place where those imaginary criminals, witches and sorcerers, in less enlightened times, were burnt; and where at festive seasons the gay and gallant held their tilts and tournaments."¹ The locality still retains its ancient name of Greenside; but the grassy slope from whence it derived its name, is now one of the most densely populated districts of the New Town.

Beyond the Monastery of the Carmelites, on the outskirts of Leith, at the south-west corner of St Anthony's Wynd, stood the Preceptory of St Anthony, founded by Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig in 1435. This was the only establishment of the order in Scotland. They followed the rule of St Augustine, and appear to have been a sort of religious knights, though not Knight Templars, as they are erroneously styled by Maitland, who has been misled in this by a charter of James VI. The "Rentale Buke," containing a list of the benefactors to the preceptory, written on vellum, in the year 1526, with a few additions in a later hand, is preserved in the Advocates' Library, wherein "It is statutit and ordanit in our Scheptour for sindri resonabil causis that the saulis of thaim that has gevin zeirlye perpetuall rent to this Abbay and Hospitall of Sanct Antonis besyd Leith, or has augmentit Goddis seruice be fundacion, or ony vther vays has gevyn substanciusly of thair gudis to the byggyn reperacion and vphaldyng of the forsaid Abbay and place, that thai be prayit for eueyrlk sunday till the day of dome."² The list of benefactors which follows, exhibits a pretty numerous array, though in the majority of cases the benefactions are of no great value. The obituary closes in 1499, and in little more than half a century thereafter, the prayers for the dead, which the chapter of the preceptory had ordained to last *till the day of doom*, were abruptly brought to a close, and the church or preceptory reduced nearly to a heap of ruins, during the siege of Leith in 1560.³ No other Scottish foundation appears to have been dedicated to this saint, notwithstanding his celebrity by means of the picturesque legends which the Romish calendar associates with his name. The ancient Hermitage and Chapel of St Anthony, which occupies a site of such singular beauty underneath the overhanging crags of Arthur's Seat, are believed to have formed a dependency of the preceptory at Leith, and to have been placed there to catch the seaman's eye as he entered the Frith, or departed on some long and perilous voyage; when his vows and offerings would be most freely made to the patron saint, and the hermit who ministered at his altar. No record, however, now remains to add to the

¹ Pennant's Tour, vol. i. p. 69.

² List of Benefactors, &c. Bann. Misc. vol. ii. p. 299.

³ Ante, vol. i. p. 66.

tradition of its dedication to St Anthony; but the silver stream, celebrated in the plaintive old song, "O waly, waly up yon bank," still wells clearly forth at the foot of the rock, filling the little bason of St Anthony's Well, and rippling pleasantly through the long grass into the lower valley.

The Chapel and Hermitage of St Anthony, though deserted and roofless for centuries, appear to have remained nearly entire, with the exception of the upper portion of the tower, till about the middle of the last century. Arnot, writing about the year 1779, remarks:—"The cell of the hermitage yet remains. It is sixteen feet long, twelve broad, and eight high. The rock rises within two feet of the stone arch which forms its roof; and at the foot of the rock flows a pure stream, celebrated in an old Scottish ballad." All that now remains of the cell is a small recess, with a stone ledge constructed partly in the natural rock, which appears to have been the cupboard for storing the simple refreshments of the hermit of St Anthony. The chapel is described by the same writer as having been a beautiful Gothic building, well suited to the rugged sublimity of the rock. "It was forty-three feet long, eighteen feet broad, and eighteen high. At its west end there was a tower of nineteen feet square, and it is supposed, before its fall, about forty feet high. The doors, windows, and roof, were Gothic; but it has been greatly dilapidated within the author's remembrance."¹ The tower is represented in the view of 1544 as finished with a plain gabled roof; and the building otherwise corresponds to this description. The wanton destruction of this picturesque and interesting ruin proceeded within our own recollection; but its further decay has at length been retarded for a time by some slight repairs, which were unfortunately delayed till a mere fragment of the ancient hermitage remained. The plain corbels and a small fragment of the groined roof still stand; and an elegant sculptured stoup for holy water, which formerly projected from the north wall, is now preserved among the collection of antiquities of Messrs Eagle and Henderson. It is described by Maitland, as occupying a small arched niche, and opposite to it was another of larger dimensions, which was strongly fortified for keeping the Pix with the consecrated bread;² but no vestige of the latter now remains, or of any portion of the south wall in which it stood.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, St Mary's Church at Leith appears to have been erected; but notwithstanding its large size—what remains being only a small portion of the original edifice,—no evidence remains to show by whom it was founded. The earliest notice we have found of it is in 1490, when a contribution of an annual rent is made "by Peter Falconer, in Leith, to a chaplain in St Peter's Alter, situat in the Virgin Mary Kirk in Leith."³ Similar grants are conferred on the chaplains of St Bartholomew's and St Barbarie's Altars, the latest of which is dated 8th July 1499,—the same year in which the Record of the Benefactors of the neighbouring preceptory is brought to a close.⁴

Maitland and Chalmers,⁵ as well as all succeeding writers, agree in assigning the destruction of the choir and transepts of St Mary's Church to the English invaders under

¹ Arnot, p. 256.

² Maitland, p. 152.

³ Inventar of Pious Donations, M.S. Ad. Lib.

⁴ One charter of a later date is recorded in the Inventar of Pious Donations, by "Jo. Logane of Restalrig, mortifying in St Anthony's Chapel in Leith, his tenement, lying on the south side of the Bridge," dated 10th Feb. 1505.

⁵ Maitland, p. 497. Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 786.

the Earl of Hertford, in 1544. No other evidence, however, exists in support of this than the general inference deducible from the burning of Leith by the English, immediately before their embarkation; a procedure which, unless accompanied by more violent modes of destruction, must have left the remainder of the church in the same condition as the nave which still exists. Such evidence as may still be gleaned from contemporary writers, leaves little reason to doubt that it was not demolished until the siege of Leith in 1560, when it was subjected to much more destructive operations than the invaders' torch. It stood directly exposed to the fire of the English batteries, cast up on the neighbouring downs, and of which some remains are still left.¹ "In this meintyme" says Bishop Lesley, "the Inglismen lying encamped upoun the south east syd of the toun, besyd Mount Pellam, schot many gret schottis of cannonis and gret ordinances, at the parrishe Kirk of Leyth, and Sanct Anthoneis steple, quhilk was forfeit with mounted artailerie thairupoun be the Frenchmen, and brak down the same."² An anonymous historian of the same period relates still more explicitly:—"The 15th of Aprill, the fort wes cast and performed, scituate upon the clay-hills, east from the Kirk of Leith, about twoe flight shott; where the greate ordinance being placed, they beganne to shoote at St Antonyes steeple in Leith, upon the which steeple the Frenchmen had mounted some artillerie, which wes verie noisome to the campe; bot within few howers after, the said steeple was broken and shott downe, likewise they shott downe some part of the east end of the Kirk of Leith."³ St Mary's Church, as it existed at the time our drawing was made, showed at the east end two of the four great central pillars of the church, and was otherwise finished by constructing a window in the upper part of the west arch of the central tower, much in the same style as was adopted in converting the nave of Holyrood Abbey into a parish church. The date 1614, which was cut on the east gable, probably marked the period at which the ruins of the choir were entirely cleared away. The side aisles appear for the most part to be the work of the same period. A range of five dormer windows was constructed at that date above both the centre and side aisles, and though a novel addition to a Gothic church, must have had a very picturesque and rich effect. The whole of these, with the exception of the two western ones on the south side of the church, were taken down in 1747,⁴ and the remaining ones have been demolished this year (1847,) along with the east and west gables of the church, and, in fact, nearly every feature that was worth preserving; the architect having, with the perverse ingenuity of modern *restorers*, preserved only the more recent and least attractive portions of the venerable edifice. As some slight atonement for this, the removal of the high-pitched roof of the side aisles has brought to light a range of very neat square-headed clerestory windows, which had remained concealed for upwards of two centuries, and which it is fortunately intended to retain in the restoration of the building.

The only other ancient parish church that remains to be noticed is that of St Cuthbert. Its parish appears to have been one of the earliest and most extensive districts set apart as a parochial charge. "The Church of St Cuthbert," says Chalmers, "is unquestionably ancient, perhaps as old as the age which followed the demise of the worthy Cuthbert,

¹ Ante, vol. i. p. 66.

² A Historie of the Estate of Scotland, Wodrow Misc. vol. i. p. 84.

³ Lesley, p. 285.

⁴ Maitland, p. 494.

towards the end of the seventh century." It was enriched by important grants, and particularly by the gift from Macbeth of Liberton, of the tithes and oblations of Legbernard, —a church of which all traces are now lost,—conferred on it in the reign of David I., previous to the foundation of Holyrood Abbey. The Chapels of Corstorphin and Liberton pertained to it. The Crown lands surrounding the Castle were bestowed on it by David I., and it claimed tithes of the fishing on the neighbouring coast ; so that it was then the wealthiest church in Scotland, except that of Dunbar; but from the date of the foundation of St David's Abbey of Holyrood it became a vicarage, while the Abbey drew the greater tithes. Besides the high altar, there were in St Cuthbert's Church several altars, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to St Anne, and other saints, of most of which no very accurate account is preserved. The ancient church was subjected to many vicissitudes, and greatly modified by successive alterations and repairs, so that comparatively little of the original fabric remained when the whole was demolished about the middle of last century, and the present huge unsightly barn erected in its stead. In Gordon's birds-eye view it appears as a large cross church, with a belfry at the west gable, and a large square tower, probably of great antiquity, standing unroofed at the south-west corner of the nave. The ancient church was nearly reduced to a heap of ruins by the Duke of Gordon, during the siege of the Castle in 1689 ; and little attempt was likely to be made at that period to preserve any of its early features in the necessary repairs preparatory to its again being used as the parish church.

Among the dependencies of the ancient Church of St Cuthbert there were the Virgin Mary's Chapel, Portsburgh, of which nothing more is known than its name and site ; and St Roque's, and St John's Chapels on the Borough Moor. About half a mile to the west of Grange House there stood, till the commencement of the present century, the ruins of the ancient Chapel of St Roque, dedicated to the celebrated saint of that name. A later writer derives its title from the unconsecrated surname of its supposed founder, Simon La Roque, French ambassador,¹ but without assigning any authority. In the treasurer's accounts for March 20th 1501–2, the following entry occurs : " Item, to the wrichtis of Sanct Rokis Chapell xiiij s." This, it is exceedingly probable, indicates the erection of the chapel, as it corresponds with the apparent date suggested by its style of architecture. It cannot, however, be certainly referred to the chapel on the Borough Moor, as a subsequent entry in 1505, of an offering " to Sanct Rowkis Chapell," describes the latter as at the end of Stirling Bridge. Of the following, however, there can be no doubt :—
 " 1507, Augt 15. The Sanct Rowkis day to the kingis offerand in Sanct Rowkis Chapell xiiij s.' That this refers to the chapel on the Borough Moor of Edinburgh, is proved by the evidence of two charters signed by the king at Edinburgh on the same day. The shrine of St Roque was the special resort of afflicted outcasts for the cure of certain loathsome diseases. Lindsay, in *The Monarchie*, describes the saint as himself bearing a boil or ulcer as the symbol of his peculiar powers :—

Sanct Roche, weill seisit, men may see,
 Ane byill new brokin on his knee.

¹ Hist. of West Kirk, p. 11. Possibly Monsieur La Crok, ambassador in 1567, is here meant. It is at any rate, without doubt, an error, originating probably in the similarity of the names.

And again, in speaking of domestic pilgrimages, he assigns to this saint the virtues for which he was most noted by the citizens of Edinburgh in early times :—

Sa doith our commoun populare,
 Qubilk war to lang for till declare,
 Thair superstitious pilgramagis,
 To monie divers imagis :
 Sum to Sanct Roche, with diligence,
 To saif thame from the pestilence :
 For thair teith to Sanct Apollene ;
 To Sanct Tredwell to mend thair ene.

The Chapel of St Roque has not escaped the notice of the Lord Lyon King's poetic eulogist, among the varied features of the landscape that fill up the magnificent picture, as Lord Marmion rides under the escort of Sir David Lindsay to the top of Blackford Hill, in his approach to the Scottish camp, and looks down on the martial array of the kingdom covering the wooded links of the Borough Moor. James IV. is there represented as occasionally wending his way to attend mass at the neighbouring Chapels of St Katherine or St Roque; nor is it unlikely that the latter may have been the scene of the monarch's latest acts of devotion, ere he led forth that gallant array to perish around him on the Field of Flodden. The Church of St John the Baptist, which was afterwards converted into the Chapel of the Convent of St Katherine de Sienna, was then just completed; but George Lord Setoun, whose widow founded the convent a few years later, and Adam Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, her father, were among the nobles who marshalled their followers around the Scottish standard, to march to the fatal field where both were slain. In accordance with the attributes ascribed by Lindsay to St Roque, we find his chapel resorted to by the victims of the plague, who encamped on the Borough Moor during the prevalence of that dreadful scourge in the sixteenth century; and the neighbouring cemetery became the resting-place of those who fell a prey to the pestilence. Among the statutes of the Burgh is the following for December 1530, " We do yow to wit, forsamekle as James Barbour, master and gouvernour of the foule folk on the Mure, is to be clengit, and hes intronettit with sindry folkis gudis and clais quhilkis ar lyand in Sanct Rokis Chapell, Thairfor al maner of personis that has ony clame to the said gudis that thai cum on Tysday nixt to cum to the officiaris, and thar clais to be clengit, certyfyand thaim, and thai do nocht, that all the said clais gif thai be of litill availl sal be brynt, and the laif to be gevin to the pure folkis."¹ Arnot relates that this ancient chapel—an engraving of which is given in the re-issue of the quarto edition of his history,—narrowly escaped the demolition to which its proprietor had doomed it, about the middle of last century, owing to the superstitious terrors of the workmen engaged to pull it down. The march of intellect, however, had made rapid strides ere its doom was a second time pronounced by a new proprietor, early in the present century, when the whole of this interesting and venerable ruin was swept away, as an unsightly encumbrance to the estate of a retired tradesman!

The teinds or tithes of the Borough Moor belonged of old to the Abbey of Holyrood; but this did not interfere with the acquirement of nearly the whole of its broad lands by private proprietors, and their transference to various ecclesiastical foundations. The name

¹ Acts and Statutes, Burgh of Edinburgh. Mait. Misc., vol. ii. p. 117.

of Gillie Grange, by which a part of it is still known, and that of The Grange, now the property of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., preserve memorials of the grange or farm which belonged of old to the Collegiate Church of St Giles. Here, towards the close of the prosperous reign of James IV., Sir John Crawford, a canon of St Giles's Church, founded and endowed the Church of St John the Baptist, portions of the ruins of which are believed still to form a part of the garden wall of a house on the west side of Newington, called Sciennes Hall. The following notice of its foundation occurs in the *Inventar of Pious Donations*, bearing the date 2d March 1512 :—" Charter of Confirmation of a Mortification be Sir Jo. Crawford, ane of the Prebenders of St Giles Kirk, to a kirk bigged by him at St Geillie Grange, mortyiefying yrunto 18 aikers of land, of the said lands, with the Quarrie Land given to him in Charitie be ye said brough, with an aiker and a quarter of a particate of land in his 3 aikers and a half an aiker of the said mure pertaining to him, lying at the east side of the Common Mure, betwixt the lands of Jo. Cant on the west, and the Common Mure on the east and south parts, and the Murebrugh, now bigged, on the north." This church was designed as a chantry for the benefit of the founder and his kin, along with the reigning Sovereign, the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and such others as it was usual to include in the services for the faithful departed in similar foundations. The chaplain was required to be of the founder's family or name, and the patronage was assigned after his death to the Town Council of Edinburgh.

The Church of St John the Baptist did not long remain a solitary chaplainry. Almost immediately after its erection, the Convent of St Katherine de Sienna was founded by the Lady Seytoun, whose husband, George third Lord Seton, was slain at the battle of Flodden. " Efter quhais deceiss" says the Chronicle of the House of Seytoun, " his ladye remanit wido continualie xlv yeiris. Sche was ane nobill and wyse ladye. Sche gydit hir sonnys leving quhill he was cumit of age ; and thairefter sche passit and remainit in the place of Senis, on the Borrow Mure, besyd Edinburgh, the rest of her lyvetyme. Quhilk place sche helpit to fund and big as maist principale." ¹ The history of this religious foundation, one of the last which took place in Scotland in Roman Catholic times, and the very last we believe to receive additions to the original foundation, acquires a peculiar interest when we consider it in connection with the general progress of opinion throughout Europe at the period. The Bull of Pope Leo X. by which its foundation is confirmed, is dated 29th January 1517. Cardinal Wolsey was then supreme in England, and Henry VIII. was following on the career of a devoted son of the Church which won him the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Charles V., the future Emperor of Germany, had just succeeded to the crown of Spain, and Martin Luther was still a brother of the order of St Augustine. This very year Leo X. sent forth John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, authorized to promote the sale of indulgences in Germany, and soon the whole of Europe was shaken by the strife of opinions. The peculiar circumstances in which Scotland then stood, delayed for a time its participation in the movement ; and meanwhile the revenues of the Convent of St Katherine de Sienna received various augmentations, and the Church of St John the Baptist was permanently annexed to it as the chapel of the convent. The nuns, however, were speedily involved in the troubles of the period. In 1544 their con-

¹ Hist. of House of Seytoun. p. 37.

vent shared the same fate as the neighbouring capital, from the barbarous revenge of the English invaders; and in 1567, its whole possessions passed into the hands of laymen, and its inmates were driven forth from the cloisters within whose shelter they had maintained the severe rules of their order with such strictness that even the pungent satirist, Sir David Lindsay, exempts them from the unsparing censure of his pen. In the first act of *The Satyre of the Three Estaitis*, Veritie enters with the English Bible in her hand, and is forthwith pronounced by the Parson a *Lutheran*, and remanded to the stocks. Chastitie follows, and in vain appeals to the Lady Prioress, the Abbot, the Parson, and my Lord Temporalitie, all of whom give the preference to Dame Sensualitie, and ignominiously dismiss her, until at length she is also consigned to the stocks. In her appeal to my Lord Temporalitie, she tells him she has come to prove "the temporal state," because the nuns have driven her out of doors. Nevertheless, in *The Complaynt of the Papingo*, when scared by the sensuality of "The sillie nunnis,"

" Chaistitie thare na langer wald abyde :
 Sa for refuge, fast to the freiris scho fled,
 Quhilkis said, thay wald of ladyis tak na cure :
 Quhare bene scho now, than said the gredie Gled ?
 Nocht amang yow, said scho, I yow assure :
 I traist scho bene, upon the Burrow-mure,
 Besouth Edinburgh, and that richt mony menis,
 Profest amang the sisteris of the Schenis.
 Thare hes scho fund hir mother Povertie,
 And Devotioun her awin sister carnall :
 Thare hath scho fund Faith, Hope, and Cheritie,
 Togidder with the vertues cardinall :
 Thare hes scho fund ane convent, yet unthrall,
 To dame Sensuall, nor with Riches abusit,
 Sa quietlye those ladyis bene inclusit."

About three miles to the south of the Convent of St Katherine de Sienna is the Balm Well of St Katherine, celebrated in ancient times for its miraculous powers in curing all cutaneous diseases, and still resorted to for its medicinal virtues. St Katherine, it is said, was commissioned by the pious Queen of Malcolm Canmore, to bring home some oil from Mount Sinai, and staying to rest herself by this well on her return, she chanced to drop some of the oil into the water, from which its peculiar characteristic, as well as its miraculous powers, were affirmed to be derived. A black bituminous substance constantly floats on the water, believed to be derived from the coal-seams that abound in the neighbourhood, and perhaps justly commands the faith still reposed in it as a remedy for the diseases to which it is applied. A chapel was erected near it, and dedicated to St Margaret, but no vestige of it now remains. Thither, it is said, the nuns of the convent on the Borough Moor were wont to proceed annually in solemn procession, to visit the chapel and well, in honour of St Katherine. When James VI. returned to Scotland in 1617, he visited the well, and commanded it to be inclosed with an ornamental building, with a flight of steps to afford ready access to the healing waters; but this was demolished by the soldiers of Cromwell, and the well now remains inclosed with plain stone work, as it was partially repaired at the Restoration.¹

¹ Archæol. Scot. vol. i. p. 323.

With the last foundation of the adherents of the old faith we may fitly close these Memorials of the olden time. An unpicturesque fragment of the ruins of the Convent of St Katherine de Sienna still remains, and serves as a sheep-fold for the flocks that pasture in the neighbouring meadow; and the name of the Sciennes, by which the ancient Mure-burgh is now known, preserves some slight remembrance of the abode of "the Sisters of the Schenis," where *Chastitie* found hospitable welcome, at a time when the bold Scottish satirist represents her as spurned from every other door. A few notes, in reference to more recent ecclesiastical erections, are reserved for the Appendix; but there is something in the flimsy and superficial character of our modern religious edifices, which, altogether apart from the sacred or historical associations attached to them, deprives them of that interest with which we view the architectural remains of the middle ages. Instead of stuccoed ceilings and plaster walls, we find in the old fabrics solid ribs of stone, and the arched vaulting adorned with intricate mouldings and richly sculptured bosses. The clustered piers below, that range along the solemn aisles, are like the huge oaks of the forest, and their fan-like groinings like the spreading boughs, from whence their old builders have been supposed to have drawn the first idea of these massive columns and the o'er-arching roof.

After all, the olden time with which we have dealt is a comparatively modern one. The relics even of St Margaret's Chapel, and St David's Monastery, and the Maiden Castle, which Chalmers ranks only as "first of modern antiques,"¹ would possess but poor claims to our interest, as mere antiquities, beside the temples of Egypt or the marble columns of the Acropolis. The Castle, indeed, is found to have been occupied as a stronghold as far back as any trustworthy record extends; and beyond this our older British chroniclers relate, as authentic, traditions which assign to it an origin nearly coeval with the Temple of Solomon, and centuries before the founding of Rome! Wyntoun records of the renowned "Kyng Ebrawce," who flourished 989 years before the Christian era:—

He byggyd EDYNSBURGH wytht-alle,
And gert thaim Allynclowd it calle,
The Maydyn castell, in sum place
The sorowful Hil it callyd was.

Coming down a little nearer our own day, we arrive at the era of Fergus the First, the famed progenitor of one hundred and eighteen sovereigns, "of the same unspotted blood and royal line," who began his reign 330 years before Christ. Fergus, however, was no plebeian upstart. He again traced his descent from Milesius, who reigned in Ireland 1300 years before the Christian era, and "who makes the twenty-sixth degree inclusively from Noe; the twenty-first from Niul, a son of Fenius-farsa, king of Scythia, a prince very knowing in all the languages then spoken; the twentieth from Gaedhal-Glass, a contemporary with Moses and Pharaoh; the seventeenth inclusively from Heber-Scot, an excellent bow-man!"² Upon the whole, we are put in the fair way of tracing King Fergus's genealogy back to Adam,—a very satisfactory and credible beginning, in case any of its more recent steps should be thought to stand in need of additional proof. Leaving such famous worthies of the olden time, we come thereafter to Edwin, King of Northumbria, of whom we

¹ Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 569.

² Dr Mathew Kennedy, Abercromby's Martial Achievements, vol. i. p. 4.

possess trust-worthy historic account, and who, there seems no reason to doubt, gave his own name to the burgh, where he possessed a stronghold presenting such great natural advantages as were likely to tempt his frequent residence within its walls. Edwin, who was the ablest and most powerful among the sovereigns of Britain in his time, lost his kingdom and his life at the battle of Hatfield, on the 12th of October 633. From that date, the Castle and town of Edinburgh may be considered as occupying some degree of prominence among the towns of the ancient kingdom, and thenceforward we are able to glean occasional authentic notices of it from our older chroniclers. The reign of Edwin is chiefly memorable for the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Northumbria, and probably no long time elapsed thereafter before some humble Christian fane was reared in Edinburgh, to supersede by its worship the heathen rites for which the summit of Arthur's Seat, or of some other of the neighbouring hills, may have been set apart as the most appropriate temple.

Glancing back thus over an interval of twelve centuries, the familiar scenes that surround us acquire a new aspect, and become pregnant with a deeper meaning than the mere beauty of the landscape, or the unrivalled grandeur of the old city that occupies its heights, can convey to the tasteful observer. History becomes a living drama, instead of a mere bundle of dusty parchments; and the actors, who pass away in succession with its many changing scenes, appear once more before us what they really were, men of like passions with ourselves. With this feeling we have attempted to recover the fading traces of the more ancient antiquities of the Scottish capital, and to preserve an authentic record of those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which are fast passing away, like their predecessors, beyond recall, notwithstanding the promise of durability which the substantial masonry of that period seems to offer. "The walles," says Taylor the Water poet, in his *Penny-lesse Pilgrimage*, "are eight or tenne foot thicke, exceeding strong, not built for a day, a weeke, or a moneth, or a yeere, but from Antiquitie to Posteritie, for many Ages." *Posteritie*, however, finds little that suits its changed tastes and habits in these "goodlie houses," and is busy replacing them with structures more adapted to modern wants; but the very fact of their having thus become obsolete confers on them a new value, as monuments of a period and state of society altogether different from our own. This it is that gives to the pursuits of the antiquary their true value. These relics of the past, however insignificant they may appear in themselves, assume a very different claim on our interest when thus regarded as the memorials of our national history, or the key to the manners and the habits of our forefathers. As such they acquire a worth which no mere lapse of time could confer; nor have our forefathers played so mean a part in the history of nations that their memorials should possess an interest only to ourselves.

APPENDIX.

I. EDINBURGH.

REFERENCE has been made in the beginning of this Work to the venerable antiquity ascribed to Edinburgh by early chroniclers, who assign as its founder, Ebranke, a contemporary of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Israel!—Grafton's Chronicle, 1569. John Hardyng, a still earlier chronicler, records of the same ancient "Kyng of Brytain,"—

He made also the Mayden Castell stronge
That men now calleth the Castell of Edenburgh,
That on a rock standeth full hie out of throng
On mount Agwet, where men may se out through
Full many a toun, castel, and borough,
In the shire about, it is so hie in syght
Who will it scale he shall not find it light.

The following reference to Edinburgh by a foreigner, evidently describing the first impression conveyed by the view of it from the Forth, occurs in a curious French poem, "*Le Chevalier sans reproche Jacques de Lalain, par Messire Jean d'Ennetieres,*" &c. &c. Tournay, 1632. 8vo. In this, the 9th canto is occupied with the details of a combat between the hero and James (9th) Earl of Douglas, fought at Stirling in presence of the king, three against three. Towards the close of the preceding canto, (p. 206,) Edinburgh is thus described,—Lalain's vessel having arrived in the Forth :—

"Edymbourgk toutesfois fait paroistre ses cornes,
Au dessous d'un espois de nuages bien mornes.
Devers l'Est, et le Sud là ceint une muraille,
Du costé du couchant, il ne luy faut tenaille
Ny bouleuert flancquant; car un bien haut rocher
La couvre tellement qu'on ne peut l'approcher.
Là dessus le chasteau est de nature telle,
Que l'Escoçois le dit le fort de la Pucelle :
Tant l'a fortifié la nature avec l'art,
Que des filles pouroyent maintenir tel rampart.
Au Nort un precipice en hauteur effroyable,
Le rend de celle part de tout point imprenable."

II. ANCIENT MAPS AND VIEWS OF EDINBURGH.

1544.—The frequent reference to maps of different dates through the Work, renders some account of them desirable for the general reader. The oldest, and by far the most valuable, is that of which a facsimile is given in the first volume of the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, to illustrate a description of Edinburgh, referred to in the course of this Work, by Alexander Alesse, a native of Edinburgh, born 23d April 1500, who embraced the Protestant faith about the time when Patrick

Hamilton, the first Scottish martyr, was brought to the stake in 1527. He left Scotland about the year 1532 to escape a similar fate, and is believed to have died at Leipzig in 1565. The original map is preserved in the British Museum, (M.S. Cotton. Augustus l. vol. ii. Art. 56,) and is assigned with every appearance of probability to the year 1544, the date of the Earl of Hertford's expedition under Henry VIII. The map may be described as chiefly consisting of a view from the Calton Hill, and represents Arthur Seat and the Abbey apparently with minute accuracy. The higher part of the town is spread out more in the character of a bird's-eye view; but there also the churches, the Netherbow Port, and other prominent features, afford proof of its general correctness. The buildings about the Palace and the whole of the upper town have their roofs coloured red, as if to represent tiles, while those in the Canongate are coloured gray, probably to show that they were thatched with straw. The only other view that bears any near resemblance to the last, occurs in the corner of one of the maps in "John Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine," published at London in 1611. It is, perhaps, only a reduction of it, with some additions from other sources. It must have been made, at any rate, many years before its publication, as both the Blackfriars Church and the Kirk-of-Field form prominent objects in the town. Trinity College Church is introduced surmounted by a spire. St Andrew's Port, at the foot of Leith Wynd, appears as a gate of some architectural pretensions; and the old Abbey and Palace of Holyrood, with the intricate inclosing walls surrounding them, are deserving of comparison with the more authentic view.

1573.—The next in point of time is a plan engraved on wood for Holinshed's Chronicles, 1577, and believed to be the same that is referred to in "A Survey taken of the Castle and towne of Edinbrogh in Scotland, by vs Rowland Johnson and John Fleminge, servantes to the Q. Ma^{tie}, by the comandement of S^r William Drury, Knighte, Governor of Berwicke, and Mr Henry Killgrave, Her Ma^{ties} Embassador." The view in this is from the south, but it is chiefly of value as showing the position of the besiegers' batteries. The town is mapped out into little blocks of houses, with singular-looking heroes in trunk hose interspersed among them, tall enough to step over their roofs! A facsimile of this illustrates the "Journal of the Siege," in the second volume of the Bannatyne Miscellany. Of the same date is a curious plan of the Castle, mentioned in Blomefield's History of Norfolk:—"At Riddlesworth Hall, Norfolk, is a picture of Sir William Drury, Lord Chief-Justice of Ireland, 1579, by which hangs an old plan of Edinburgh Castle, and two armies before it, and round it—*Sir William Drurye, Knt., General of the Englishe, wanne Edinburghe Castle 1573.*"—Gough's British Topography, vol. ii. p. 667.

1580.—Another map, which has been frequently engraved, was published about 1580 in Braun's *Civitates Orbis*. "Any person," says the editor of the Bannatyne Miscellany, (vol. i. p. 185,) "who is acquainted with the localities of the place may easily perceive that this plan has been delineated by a foreign artist from the information contained in the printed text, and not from any actual survey or sketch; and consequently is of little interest or value." The same, however, might, with equal propriety, be said of the preceding map, which has fully as many errors as the one now referred to. The latter is certainly much too correct, according to the style of depiction adopted in these bird's-eye maps, to admit of the idea of its being drawn from description, though it is not improbable that it may have been made up from others, without personal survey. It affords some interesting points of comparison with that of 1574.

1645. About this date two drawings of Edinburgh appear to have been made, from which engravings were executed in Holland. From their style of drawing, it is exceedingly probable that they are the work of Gordon of Rothiemay, previous to his large bird's-eye view from the south, described in the next paragraph. They are engraved on one large sheet of copper, forming long, narrow, panoramic views, each of them measuring seven and a half inches by twenty-two and a half inches, within the work; and are now very rarely to be met with. The first is inscribed, *VRBIS EDINÆ FACIES MERIDIONALIS—The Prospect of the South Side of Edinburgh*. The point of sight appears to be towards St Leonard's Hill. Heriot's Hospital is introduced without the dome of the centre tower, and with the large towers at the angles covered with steep pointed roofs,—a rude representation seemingly of the ogee roofs with which at least two of them were originally surmounted. (Vide vol. ii. p. 123.) Beside it is the Old Greyfriars, as it then stood, with a plain square tower at its east end. But the most conspicuous object in both views is "The Tron Kirk, with the Steeple," as it is described, though it consists only of the square tower, finished with a plain and very flat slanting roof;—an object which suffices very nearly to determine the date of the drawing. *The Nether bow Steeple, and the Steeple of Canno-tolbuith*, are also introduced with tolerable accuracy. The Palace is unfortunately very rudely executed. The Abbey Church, with its tower and spire, and James V. Tower, are the only portions shown, and neither of them very well drawn. A wall runs from the Palace along the South-back of the Canongate to the Cowgate Port, pierced with small doors, and entitled *The Back Entries to the Cannon-gait*.

The companion view from the Calton Hill is entitled *VRBIS EDINÆ LATVS SEPTENTRIONALE*. The most prominent objects are the same as in the former, including the unfinished steeple of the Tron Church. In both *the High Kirk steeple* is very imperfectly rendered, though indeed no old view renders St Giles's beautiful crown tower correctly. *The Castle Chappel* is marked in both views; and in the latter, both it and the large ancient church on the north side of the Grand Parade, form the most prominent objects in the Castle. The Palace is entirely concealed in the latter view; and in both

of them no attention appears to have been paid to any details in the private buildings of the town. The copy of these we have examined, and the only one we have ever seen, is in the possession of David Laing, Esq. The plate has no date or engraver's name.

1647.—Maitland remarks, (History of Edinburgh, p. 86.) "In this year, 1647, a draught or view of Edinburgh being made by James Gordon, minister of Rothemay, by order of the Common Council, they ordered the sum of Five Hundred Marks to be paid him for the pains and trouble he had been at in making the same." This view, or plan, which was engraved at Amsterdam by De Wit, on a large scale, is one of the most accurate and valuable records that could possibly exist. It is a bird's-eye view taken from a south point of sight, and measures forty-one and a quarter inches long by sixteen inches broad. The public buildings are represented with great minuteness and fidelity, and in the principal streets almost every house of any note along the north side may be distinguished. A very careful copy of this was published at London, with views of the town in the corners of the plate, early in the following century, "exactly done from the original of ye famous D. Wit, by And^r. Johnston," and is dedicated to the Hon. George Lockhart, the celebrated politician, better known as "Union Lockhart." Another tolerably accurate facsimile of the original plan was engraved by Kirkwood on the same large scale, in the present century; but the plate and the chief portion of the impressions perished in the great fire of 1824, the premises of the engraver being at that time in the Parliament Square. Gough remarks, in his Topography, (vol. ii. p. 673) "The Rev. Mr James Gordon of Rothemay's plan of Edinburgh has been re-engraved in Holland, but not so accurately as that done from his own drawing, in vol. xii. of Piere Vauder Aa's 'Gallerie agreable du Monde,' a collection of plans, views of towns, &c., in 66 vols. thin folio, at Leyden."

1650.—Another rare view of Edinburgh from the south, engraved by Rombout Van den Hoyen, appears to have been drawn about 1650. In the left corner of the sky the arms of Scotland are introduced, not very accurately drawn; a flying scroll bears the name *Elyburgum*, and above the sky is the inscription *Edenburgum Civitas Scotiae celeberrima*. Two mounted figures are introduced in the foreground, riding apparently over the ridge of St Leonard's Hill, along the ancient Dumbiedyke's Road, towards the town. The date of the view is ascertainable from the introduction of the Weigh House steeple, demolished by Cromwell in 1650, and the spire of the Tron Church, which was completed about 1663, although the church was so far advanced in 1647 as to be used as a place of worship. The destruction of the greater part of the ancient Palace in the former year, affords further evidence of this view having been taken about that period, as it is represented with considerable accuracy as it stood previous to the fire. The north garden is laid out in the formal style of the period, with *Queen Mary's Bath* very accurately introduced in the angle formed by two of the inclosing garden walls. It appears to have been engraved in Holland, and is illustrated with a stanza in Latin, Dutch, and French, consisting of a very self-complacent soliloquy of the good town on its own ancient glory. A lithographic copy of this view is occasionally to be met with.

1693.—The *THEATRUM SCOTIÆ*, of Captain John Slezer, was printed at London in 1693. He visited this country for the first time in 1669, so that the drawings of the interesting series of Scottish views published by him must have been made during the interval between these dates. They are of great value, being in general very faithful representations of the chief towns and most important edifices in Scotland at that period. Much curious information in reference to the progress of this national work has been selected from the records in the General Register House, and printed in the 2d vol. of the Bannatyne Miscellany. Among these, the following items of the Captain's account of "Debursements" afford some insight into the mode of getting up the views:—

IMPRIMIS,	For bringing over a Painter, his charges to travel from place to place, and for drawing these 57 draughts contained in the said <i>Theatrum Scotiae</i> , at 2 lib. sterlin per draught,	Lib. Sterlin.	0114 : 00 : 00
ITEM,	To Mr Whyte at London for engraving the said 57 draughts, at 4 lib. 10 shillings over head,		0256 : 10 : 00
ITEM,	To Mr Wycke, the battell painter at London, for touching and filling up the said 57 draughts with little figures, at 10 shillings sterlin per piece, inde,		0028 : 10 : 00
ITEM,	Captain Slezer hath been at a considerable loss by 12 plates of prospects, which were spoiled in Holland, as partly appears by a contract betwixt Doctor Sibbald and the said Captain, dated anno 1691, which loss was at least		0072 : 10 : 00

In the early edition of Slezer's views the only general *Prospect* of Edinburgh is the one from the Dean. But the view of the Castle from the south also includes some interesting portions of the Old Town, and to these another view of the Castle from the north-east was afterwards added. Four different editions of the *Theatrum Scotiae* are described in Gough's *British Topography*, and a fifth edition of 100 copies was published at Edinburgh in 1814, edited by the Rev. Dr Jamieson, with a life of Slezer, and other additional matter, and illustrated with impressions from the original plates,

which are still in existence. The work is to be met with in most public libraries, and affords some curious views of the chief towns of Scotland, as they existed in the latter end of the seventeenth century.

1700.—About this date is a large and very accurate view of Edinburgh from the north, which has been engraved more than once. The original plate, which appeared first in the third edition of Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, dedicated to the Marquis of Annandale, was published in 1718. It is a long view, with the Calton Hill forming the foreground, beyond which Trinity College Church, and Paul's Work appear on one side, with the North Loch stretching away towards the Well-house Tower. The large ancient church of the Castle, as well as St Margaret's Chapel, form prominent objects in the Castle; while in the town the Netherbow Port, the old High School, demolished in 1777, and others of the ancient features of the city are introduced with considerable care and accuracy of detail. The whole is engraved with great spirit, but no draftsman's or engraver's name is attached to it. Another copy of the same, on a still larger scale, though of inferior merit as an engraving, is dedicated to Queen Anne.

1742.—Of this date is Edgar's map of Edinburgh, engraved for Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*. It was drawn by William Edgar, architect, for the purpose of being published on a much larger scale; but he died before this could be accomplished, when it was fortunately engraved by Maitland, on a scale sufficiently large for reference to most of its details. It is of great value as an accurate and trustworthy ground plan of the city almost immediately before the schemes of civic reform began to modify its ancient features. A very useful companion to this is a large map, "including all the latest improvements," and dedicated to Provost Elder in 1793. It contains a very complete reference to all the closes and wynds in the Old Town, many of which have since disappeared, while alterations in the names of those that remain add to the value of this record of their former nomenclature.

1753.—A small folio plate of Edinburgh from the north-west, bearing this date, is engraved from a drawing by Paul Sandby. It appears to have been taken from about the site of Charlotte Square, though the town is represented at a greater distance. Its chief value arises from the idea it gives of the site of the New Town, consisting, on the west side of the Castle where the Lothian Road has since been made, of formal rows of trees, and beyond them a great extent of ground mostly bare and uninclosed. Old St Cuthbert's Church is seen at the foot of the Castle rock, with a square central tower surmounted by a low spire.

In 1816 an ingenious old plan of Edinburgh and its environs was published by Kirkwood, on a large scale. He has taken Edgar as his authority for the Old Town; South Leith from a survey by Wood in 1777; the intervening ground, including North Leith and the site of the New Town from a survey made in 1759, by John Fergus and Robert Robinson; and the south of Edinburgh, including the whole ground to the Pow Burn, from another made the same year by John Scott. It is further embellished with a reduced copy of the view of 1580, and a plan of Leith made in 1681. The names of most of the proprietors of ground are given from the two last surveys, belonging to the town, and the whole forms a tolerably complete and curious record of the neighbourhood of Edinburgh about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Gough remarks in his *British Topography*, with reference to John Clerk, Esq., of Eldin,—whose amateur performances with the etching needle are coveted by collectors of topographical illustrations, on account of their rarity, a few impressions only having been printed for private distribution,—“I am informed he intends to etch some views of Edinburgh of large size, having made some very accurate drawings for that purpose.” Two of these, at least, have been etched on narrow plates, about fifteen inches long. One of them, a view from the north, has Locheil and Logan of Restalrig's old tower in the foreground; with the initials J. G., and the date 1774. The other is from the head of the Links, with Wrychtishousis mansion in the foreground. They are not, however, so accurate as Gough—or more probably his Scottish authority, Mr George Paton,—had anticipated.

To this list we may add a south view of Edinburgh by Hollar, on two sheets. We have never seen a copy of it, nor met with any person who has seen more than one of the sheets, now at Cambridge. It is very rare, has no date, and is perhaps after all, only a copy of Gordon's birds-eye view. Gough mentions an ancient drawing of Edinburgh preserved in the Charter Room of Heriot's Hospital, but no such thing is now known to exist, although the careful researches of Dr Steven, in the preparation of his history of the Hospital, could hardly have failed to discover it, had it still remained there.

Of modern views the best is that drawn by W. H. Williams, or as he is more frequently styled, Grecian Williams, and engraved on a large scale, with great ability and taste, by William Miller. It is taken from the top of Arthur Seat, so that it partakes of the character of a bird's-eye view, with all the beauty of correct perspective and fine pictorial effect.

A rare and interesting print published in 1751, engraved from a drawing by Paul Sandby, preserves a view of Leith at that period. It is taken from the old east road, and owing to the nature of the ground, and the site of the town being chiefly a declivity towards the river, little more is seen than the nearest rows of houses, and the steeple of St Mary's Church. The rural character of the neighbouring downs, however, is curious, as well as a singular looking old-fashioned carriage, which forms one of the most prominent objects in the view.

III. CHURCHES.

TRON CHURCH.—The Tron Church, or Christ's Church at the Tron, as it should be more correctly termed, is one of two churches founded about the year 1637, in consequence of want of accommodation for the citizens in the places of worship then existing. They proceeded very slowly, impeded no doubt by the political disturbances of the period. In 1647 the Church at the Tron was so far advanced as to admit of its being used for public worship, but it was not entirely finished till 1663. On the front of the tower, over the great doorway, a large ornamental pannel bears the city arms in *alto relievo*, and beneath them the inscription *ÆDEM HANC CHRISTO ET ECCLESIE SACRARUNT CIVES EDINBURGENSES, ANNO DOM. MDCXLII*. Some account has been given (vol. ii. p. 40.) of the changes effected on the church in opening up the southern approaches to the city, in the year 1785. It is finished internally with an open timber roof, somewhat similar to that in the Parliament House; but its effect has been greatly impaired by the shortening of the church when it was remodelled externally. In 1824 the old steeple was destroyed by fire. It was built according to a design frequently repeated on the public buildings throughout Scotland at that period, but the examples of which are rapidly disappearing. Old St Nicolas's Church at Leith still preserves the model on a small scale, and the tower of Glasgow College is nearly a facsimile of it. The old tower of St Mary's Church, as engraved in our view of it, was another nearly similar, but that has been since taken down; and a destructive fire has this year demolished another similar erection at the Town Hall, Linlithgow. The site chosen for the second of the two churches projected in 1637, was the Castle Hill, on the ground now occupied by the Reservoir. The building of the latter church was carried to a considerable extent, as appears from Gordon's View of Edinburgh, drawn about ten years later; but the Magistrates discovering by that time that it was much easier to project than to build such edifices, they, according to Arnot, "pulled down the unfinished church on the Castel Hill, and employed the materials in erecting the Tron." There is good reason, however, for believing that Arnot is mistaken in this account of the interruption of the former building. It is unquestionable, at any rate, that at no period since the Reformation has the same zeal been manifested for religious foundations as appears to have prevailed at that period. In 1639, according to Arnot, David Machall, merchant burges of Edinburgh, left three thousand five hundred merks, or as in the Inventar of Pious Donations, "1000 merks yearly, to maintain a chaplain in the Tron Church of Edin' to mak Exercise every Sunday from 8 to 9 in the morning." In 1647, Lady Yester founded the church that bears her name; and in 1650, Thomas Moodie, or as he is styled in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, Sir Thomas Moodie of Sachtenhall, bequeathed the sum of twenty thousand merks, to the Town Council, in trust, for building a church in the town, and which, after various projects for its application to different purposes, was at length made use of for providing a church for the parishioners of the Canongate, on their ejection from Holyrood Abbey by James VII. in 1687. Such does not seem to be a period when a church which had been in progress for years, and, as would appear from Gordon's View, was advancing towards completion, would be deliberately levelled with the ground, from the difficulty of raising the necessary funds. The following entry in the Inventar of Pious Donations, throws new light both on this and on the object of Moodie's bequest: "Tho' Mudie left for the re-edifying to the Kirk that was throwne down by the English in the Castle Hill of Edr, 40,000 merks,—but what is done y^rin I know not." There is added on the margin in a later hand, seemingly that of old Robert Milne, circa 1700; "The Wigs built the Canongate Kirk y^rw^t." From this it appears that the church on the Castle Hill shared the same fate as the old Weigh House, its materials having most probably been converted into redoubts for Cromwell's artillery, during the siege of the Castle, for which purpose they lay very conveniently at hand. In the year 1673, a bell, which cost 1490 merks and 8 shillings Scots, was hung up in the steeple, and continued weekly to summon the parishioners to church till the great fire of 1824, when, after hanging till it was partly melted by the heat, it fell with a tremendous crash among the blazing ruins of the steeple. Portions of it were afterwards made into quaichs and other similar memorials of the conflagration. In 1678 the furnishing of the steeple was completed, by putting up there the old clock that had formerly belonged to that of the Weigh House.

The bequest of Thomas Moodie appears to have cost its trustees some little concern as to how to dispose of it, a few years having sufficed to effect very radical changes on the ideas of the civic council as to the church accommodation required by the citizens. Fountainhall records in 1681, (vol. i. p. 156.) "The Town of Edinburgh obtain an act anent Thomas Moodie's legacy and mortification to them of 20,000 merks, that in regard they have no use for a church, (which was the end whereto he destined it,) that therefore they might be allowed to invert the same to some other public work. The Articles and Parliament recommended the Town to the Privy Council, to see the will of the defunct fulfilled as near as could be; for it comes near to sacrilege to invert a pious donation. The Town offers to buy with it a peal of Bells to hang in St Giles's Steeple, to ring musically, and to warn to Church, and to build a Tolbooth above the West Port of Edinburgh, and to put Thomas Moodie's name and arms thereon. Some thought it better to make it a stipend to the Lady Yester's Kirk, or to a minister to preach to all the prisoners in the Canongate and Edinburgh Tolbooths, and at the Correction-house, Sunday about." In the records of the Privy Council, May 15, 1688, when Moodie's bequest was

finally appropriated towards providing the ejected burghers of Canongate with a Parish Church, it appears that the annual interest of it had been appropriated to the payment of the Bishop of Edinburgh's house rent (Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 505.) The arms of Moodie now form a prominent ornament on the front of the Canongate Church. In the vestry an elevation of the church is preserved, having a steeple attached to its south front; but the funds which had been raised for this ornamental addition were appropriated to build the Chapel of Ease at the head of New Street.

LADY YESTER'S CHURCH.—The Inventar of Pious Donations appends to a long list of pious *mortifications* by Lady Yester, a genealogical sketch, which we correct and complete from Wood, who thus describes the ecclesiastical origin of the Lothian family:—"Mark Ker, second son of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, entering into holy orders, was promoted in 1546 to the dignity of Abbot of Newbottle; which station he possessed at the Reformation, 1560, when he renounced the profession of Popery, and held his benefice in commendam. . . . He married Lady Helen Lesly, second daughter of George fourth Earl of Rothes, and by her had issue, Mark. On the death of his father in 1584, the Commendatorship of Newbottle, to which the latter had been provided by Queen Mary in 1567, was ratified to him by letters under the Great Seal; and he was also appointed one of the extraordinary Lords of Session in his father's place, 12th November 1584. He had the lands of Newbottle erected into a barony, with the title of a Baron, 28th July 1587," &c. This was the father of Lady Yester, of whom the following account appears in the *Inventar*:—"The 6^d Dame Margaret Ker, was the eldest [the third] daughter of Mark Commendator of Newbottle, one of the lo/ of council and sesion, yrafter E. of Lothian, procreat betwixt him and [Margaret] Maxwell, a daughter of Jo. lo/ Herries. In her young years she was 1st married to Ja. Lo. Hay of Yester, and by her wise and vertuous government, she was most instrumental in preserving and improving of the 6^d estate. By him she had two sons, Jo. lo/ Hay of Yester, yrafter E. of Tweedale, and Sir Wm. her 2d son, for whom she purchased the Barrone of Linplam, &c. The 6^d Dame Margaret Ker having lived many years a widow, she married Sir Andrew Ker, younger of Fernyhirst, and procured his father to be made Lo/ Jedburgh. Besides the many Gardens, Buildings, Parks, made be her in all places belonging to her husband, in every paroch q^r either of her husbands had money-rents, she erected and built Hospitals and schools." After this follows the list, which is altogether surprising, as evidence of continued munificence and benevolent piety; among which are the following items:—

"Towards the building of the Town [Tron?] Kirk of Edinr., she gifted 1000 m.

"She built an kirk near the High School in Edr., and bestowed toward the building y^rof £1000, with 5000 m. for the use of the minister of the 6^d church, and a little before her death caused joyne y^rto an little Isle for the use of the minister, q^r she lies interred, with an tomb in the wall, with this inscription:—

Its needless to erect a marble Tomb:
The daily bread, that for the hungry womb,
And bread of life thy bounty hath provided,
For hungry souls, all times to be divided;
World-lasting monuments shall reare,
That shall endure till Christ himself appear.
Pos'd was thy life; prepar'd thy happy end;
Nothing in either was without commend,
Let it be the care of all who live hereafter,
To live and die like Margaret Lady Yester:
Who died 15 March 1647. Her age 75."

The old Lady Yester's Church built in 1644, stood at the corner of the High School Wynd, surrounded by a church-yard. It is a proof of the flimsy character of modern ecclesiastical edifices, as well as the little veneration they excited in the minds of the worshippers, that this church has already disappeared, and been rebuilt considerably to the westward, in a very strange and nondescript style of architecture. The tomb of the foundress, and a tablet recording her good works, are both rebuilt in the New Church, and we presume her body has also been removed to the new "minister's little isle."

IV. CORPORATION AND MASONIC HALLS.

CANDLEMAKERS.—The Hall of this ancient Corporation still stands at the Candlemaker Row, with the arms of the Craft boldly cut over the doorway on a large pannel, and beneath, their appropriate motto, *Omnia manifestata luce*. Internally, however, the hall is subdivided into sundry small apartments; much more circumscribed accommodation sufficing for the assembly of the fraternity in these days of gas light and reform. The Candlemakers of Edinburgh were incorporated by virtue of a Seal of Cause granted them in 1517, wherein it is required "That na maner of Man nor Woman occupy the

said Craft, as to be ane Maister, and to set up Buit, bot gif he be ane Freman, or ells an Freman's Wyfe of the said Craft, allanerlie; and quhan thay set up Buit, thay sall pay to Sanct Geil's Wark, half a mark of sylver, and to the Reparatioun, bylding and uphalding of the Licht of ony misterfull Alter within the College Kirk of Sanct Geils, quhair the said Deykin and Craftismen thinks maist neidfull, and half ane Mark by and quhill the said Craftismen be furnist of ane Alter of thair awin. And in lykways, ilk Maister and Occupiar of the said Craft, sall, in the Honour of Almichtie God, and of his blesst Mother, Sanct Marie, and of our Patroun, Sanct Geill, and of all Sanctis of Heaven, sall gif zeir lie to the helping and furthering of ony guid Reparatioun, either of Licht or ony other neidfull wark till ony Alter situate within the College Kirk, maist neidfull, Ten Shillings; and to be gaderit be the Deykin of the said Craft, ay and quhill thay be provydit of an Alter to thameselfis; and he that disobcis the same, the Deykin and the Leif of the Craft sall poynd with ane Officiar of the Toun, and gar him pay walx to oure Lady's Alter, quhill thay get an Alter of thair awin. And that nane of the said Craftismen send ony Lads, Boyis, or Servands, oppinlic upoun the Hie-gaitt with ony Candill, to roup or to sell in playne Streites, under the payne of escheiting of the Candill, paying ane pund of walx to oure Lady's Alter, the first fait," &c. It does not appear whether or not the Craft ever founded an altar or adopted a patron saint of their own, before the *new light* of the Reformers of the Congregation put an end to the whole system of candle-gifts and forfeits to the altars of St Giles's Church. The venerable fraternity of Candlemakers still exists, no unworthy sample of a close corporation. The number of its members amounts to *three*, who annually meet for the purpose of electing the office-bearers of the corporation, and distributing equitably the salaries and other perquisites accruing to them from its funds, in return for their onerous duties!

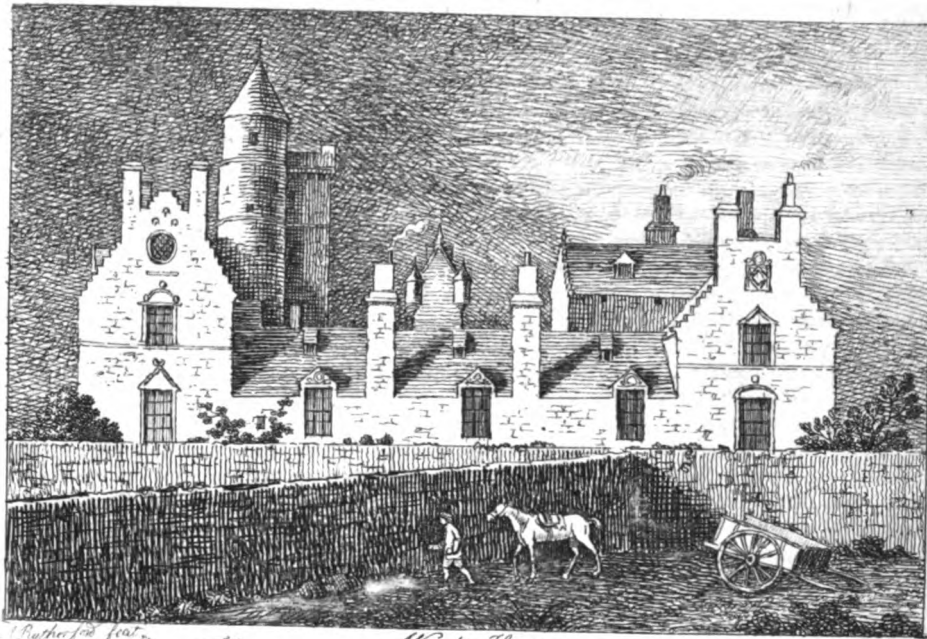
TAILORS.—The Corporation of Tailors, a more ancient fraternity, claiming indeed as their founder the first stitcher of fig-leaf aprons, or, according to the old Geneva Bible, of *brreeches*, in the plains of Mesopotamia,—appear to have had an altar in St Giles's Church, dedicated to their patron saint, St Ann, at the date of their Seal of Cause, A.D. 1500. In 1554, Robert, Commendator of Abbey of Holyrood, grants to "ye Tailzour crawft within our said Bwrcht of the cannogait of our said Abbay," Letters of Incorporation, which specially provide for "augmentation of diuine seruice at ane altar biggit within our said Abbay, quhair Sanct An, thair patronne now stands." So that this saint appears to have been the adopted patroness of the Craft in general.

Though the fine old hall in the Cowgate has long been abandoned by this Corporation, they still exist as a body, and have a place of meeting in Carrubber's Close, one of the chief ornaments of which is an autograph letter of James VI., addressed to the Tailors of Edinburgh, which hangs framed and glazed over the old fire place. St Magdalene's Chapel, and the modern Mary's Chapel in Bell's Wynd, form the chief halls of the remaining Corporations of Edinburgh, that have long survived all the purposes for which they were originally chartered and incorporated.

FREEMASONS.—Probably in no city in the world have the brotherhood of the mystic tie more zealously revived their ancient secret fraternization than they did in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century. The hereditary office of grand-master which had been granted by James II. to William St Clair of Roslin, and to his heirs and successors in the barony of Roslin, was then about to expire with the last of that old line. In 1736, William St Clair of Roslin, the last hereditary grand-master, intimated to a chapter of the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge his intention of resigning his office into the hands of the Scottish brotherhood, in order that the office he inherited might be perpetuated by free election. The consequence was the assembly in Edinburgh, on the ensuing St Andrew's day, of a representative assembly, consisting of deputies elected by all the Scottish lodges, and thus was constituted *The Grand Lodge of Scotland*. The Scottish lodges took precedence according to seniority; the Kilwinning Lodge standing foremost, and next in order the ancient Edinburgh Lodge of St Mary, the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, and after it the Lodge of Perth and Scone, the more ancient seat of the Scottish government. Their lodge halls are to be found in various quarters of the town. Among the antiquities of C. K. Sharpe, Esq., is a finely carved oak door of a small press or ambry, having a figure of the Virgin carved in low relief on the panel, which belonged to one of the lodges. In the hall of St David's Lodge in Hyndford's Close, a still more venerable antique used to be shown,—an original portrait of King Solomon, painted for the first Grand Lodge, at the founding of the order, while the Temple of Jerusalem was in progress! We understand, however, that some of the brethren entertain doubts of its being *quite so old*, though one venerable octogenarian answered our inquiries by an ancient legend of the burgh, which bears that certain of the Town Guard of Edinburgh were present in Jerusalem at the Crucifixion, and carried off this veritable portrait from the Temple during the commotions that ensued; all which the reader will receive and believe as a genuine old Edinburgh tradition!

The most characteristic feature, however, of the Masonic fraternity of Edinburgh, was the Roman Eagle Lodge. There was at the period of Robert Burns's first visit to Edinburgh about a dozen different masonic lodges assembling in Edinburgh, wherein noblemen, judges, grave professors, and learned divines, lawyers, and scholars of all sorts, mixed with the brotherhood in decorous fraternization and equality. It was, perhaps, from an idea of creating within the masonic republic, a scholarly aristocracy, that should preserve for their own exclusive enjoyment one lodge of the fraternity, without infringing on the equality of rights in the order, that the *Roman Eagle Lodge* was founded, at whose meetings no

language but Latin was allowed to be spoken. It was established, we believe, in the year 1780, by the celebrated and eccentric Dr Brown, author of *Elementa Medicinæ*, and founder of what is termed the Brunonian System in medicine. It affords no very flattering picture of Edinburgh society at that period, to learn that this classic fraternity owed its dissolution to the excesses of its members, wherein they far surpassed their brethren—not altogether famous as patterns of temperance. The Roman Eagle Hall, in Brodie's Close, still bears the name of the learned brotherhood.



Wright's Houses Sold by I. Anstie at the Cross Edinburgh

V. WRYCHTISHOUSIS.

In the description attached to a view of Wrichtishousis, in "An elegant collection of interesting views in Scotland," printed by Oliver & Co, Netherbow, 1802, the western wing is described as the most ancient part of the edifice, while the eastern wing is affirmed to have been built in the reign of King Robert III., and the centre range connecting the two in that of James VI. There was probably, however, no other authority for this than the dates and armorial bearings, the whole of which we conceive to be the work of the latter monarch's reign. Arnot furnishes the very laconic account of it, that it is said to have been built for the reception of a mistress of King James IV. That it was built for such a purpose cannot admit of any credit, but it is possible that that gay and gallant monarch may have entertained special favour for some of the fair scions of the old Napier stock.

Allusion is made in a foot note on p. 131, vol. ii., to "The History of the Partition of the Lennox," we find, however, that the author had not only pointed out the shields of the Merchiston and Wrichtishousis Napiers on the old tomb at St Giles's, in his Memoirs of Merchiston, but we believe he was the first to detect that the bearings on one of these shields was the Wrichtishousis arms, and not those of Scott of Thirlestane, as they had previously been presumed to be; these two families having been united in the person of Francis fifth Lord Napier, son of the Baroness Napier and Sir William Scot, Bart., of Thirlestane. These arms, placed above the tablet marking the tomb of the Napier family, on the north wall of the choir of St Giles's Church, were removed in the recent alterations, from the interior of the church, where they formerly stood above an altar-tomb, underneath the same window, on the outside of which the tablet was placed. There is no reason for believing them to be of the same date. The style of ornament round the

border of the tablet can hardly be assigned to an earlier reign than that of James VI., while the shape of the shields indicates a much more remote era.

We are indebted to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. for the above spirited etching of Wrychtishousis, as seen from the south-west. The principal front of the building was to the north-east, and the old tower, which had formed the nucleus of this picturesque edifice and was the most prominent feature in the front view, is seen here rising above its roof.

VI. PORTEOUS MOB.

A very curious allusion to the Porteous Mob occurs in the defence of the celebrated Horne Tooke, on his trial for libel in 1777. The judge before whom he pled his own cause was the Earl of Mansfield, whose services were engaged on behalf of the interests of the Scottish capital, at the time when it was sought to subject both it and its magistracy to ignominious pains and penalties, in order to gratify the indignant Queen Caroline, whose unwonted powers as Regent had been insulted by the deed of the rioters which set her royal pardon at nought. Lord Mansfield must have known whatever could be communicated to one of the council for the defence of Edinburgh and its ancient rights, and knowing this, Horne Tooke addresses him :—" I shall not trouble you to repeat the particulars of the affair of Captain Porteous at Edinburgh. These gentlemen are so little pleased with military execution upon themselves, that Porteous was charged by them with murder, he was prosecuted, convicted, and when he was reprieved after sentence, the people of the town executed that man themselves, so little did they approve of military execution. Now gentlemen, *there are at this moment people of reputation, living in credit, making fortunes under the Crown, who were concerned in that very fact, who were concerned in the execution of Porteous.* I do not speak it to censure them ; for however irregular the act, my mind approves of it."—" Trial of John Horne, Esq., for a libel, before the Right Hon. William Earl of Mansfield, in the Court of King's Bench, 4th July 1777." The libel for which he was tried, was a vehement attack on the conduct of the Ministry on the breaking out of the American war. The verdict involved him both in a tedious imprisonment and a fine of £200. It can hardly therefore be supposed that the defendant would unadvisedly risk such a statement, so that it affords a singular corroboration of the traditions that represent the higher classes to have furnished the chief leaders in the Porteous Mob. We have been told by an old citizen that Lord Mansfield was himself affirmed to have been among the rioters on the night of Porteous's execution ; but that is exceedingly improbable, as he had then been practising for five years at the English Bar.

VII. " LADY ANN BOTHWELL'S LAMENT."

THE account of the heroine of this beautiful ballad given in the text (vol. ii. p. 7) is incorrect. In " The Scottish Ballads," p. 133, it is remarked :—" The editor, by the assistance of a valued antiquarian friend, is enabled now to lay a true and certain history of the heroine before the public. ' Lady Anne Bothwell,' was no other than the Honourable Anna Bothwell, daughter of Bothwell Bishop of Orkney, at the Reformation, but who was afterwards raised to a temporal peerage under the title of Lord Holyroodhouse." As this account is necessarily wrong, since it was not the Bishop, but his eldest son John, who was created Lord Holyroodhouse, Lady Ann has been described in the text as the daughter of the latter. The following, however, is the true narrative, which originally appeared in a note to " The Household Book of Lady Marie Stewart, Countess of Mar"—a work now of great rarity, only a very small edition having been printed. It was edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. There is no date to it, but we are informed by the editor that it was published in 1814. It is as an illustration of the following entry of 1st September 1640. (p. 43) :—" The Comptar craves allowance of two nights charges, being sent to waitt upon the buriall of Col. Alexander, his corps, which was buried before he came att Tynninghame, 53sh. 4d." To this the editor appends the following note in reference to the Colonel :—" Colonel Alexander Erskine, Lady Mar's third son, was blown up in the Castle of Dunglass, together with his brother-in-law the Earl of Haddington. ' Upon Sunday the 30th August 1640, the Earl of Haddington, with about eighty persons, of Knights, Barons, and Gentlemen, within the place of Dunglass in the Merse, pertaining heritably to the Lord Hume, was suddenly blown up in the air, by a sudden fire, occasioned thus : Haddington, with his friends and followers, rejoicing how they defended the army's magazine frae the English garrison of Berwick, came altogether to Dunglass, having no fear of evil, where they were all suddenly blown up with the roof of the house in the air, by powder, whereof there was abundance in this place, and never bone nor hyre seen of them again.'—*Spalding.* Bishop Guthrie remarks, that ' The very day the Scots entered Newcastle, Dunglass Castle, in the keeping of Haddington, (who had left the King's party, and held it under Leslie,) was blown up about mid-day ; he and about sixty

gentlemen were buried under one of the walls, which fell upon them as they stood in the close. The King said upon it, albeit he had been very ungrateful to him, yet he was sorry that he had not at his dying some time to repent.'

"Sir Robert Gordon, in his *History of the Sutherland Family*, asserts that Lord Haddington and Colonel Alexander Erskine had returned the day before from a victorious skirmish with the English, and were at dinner when the explosion took place. He adds, 'This was ascribed to a servant of the Earle's (an Englishman) who was his harbour, but how truly I know not.'

"Alexander Erskine, son to John Earl of Mar, had a letter of provision of the abbacy of Cambuskenneth, 31st May 1608. He and his brother, Lord Cardross, were two of the chief mourners at the funeral of their uncle, Ludovick Duke of Lennox, who died 16th February 1624, and was buried at Westminster, (*Sir Robert Gordon's History of the Sutherland Family*.) He was knighted, but at what time is uncertain, and was in the French military service, as appears from a letter printed by Lord Hailes, and communicated by Lord Alva. It is addressed to a person unknown in France, by the leaders of the Scottish army, written in bad French, (which is translated by Lord Hailes,) and dated from the camp at Dunse, 20th August 1640:—

" ' Sir,—The state of our affairs has constrained us to levy a numerous army for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin; hence it is that we could not permit Colonel Erskine to transport his regiment (into France) last year, and the same course still obliges us to employ the Colonel at home in the defence of his country. Although he is exceedingly zealous in the public service, yet he will not accept of any commission from us, unless with the consent of his Most Christian Majesty, and under the condition of being permitted to repair to France at whatever time he may be required. Peace is the aim of our desires, and the wish of our souls; as soon as that is concluded, we shall demonstrate, by our assisting Colonel Erskine in his levies, and by procuring good recruits for his Majesty's service, that true Scotsmen can never forget their ancient alliances, and the common interest which unites them with France; and therefore, Sir, we again entreat you to represent what has been here said, and the situation of Colonel Erskine's affairs, to his Majesty, and to his Eminence. We hope to obtain these favours by your means; and, besides the obligations which you will thereby confer on the Colonel, you will oblige us to remain, Sir, your most humble servants, A. LESLIE. ARGYLE. ROTHES. MAR. BALCARRAS. BELMERINO. SEAFORTH.'

"This letter was written only ten days previous to the Colonel's death, which tradition affirms to have been regarded as a punishment of Providence for his amorous perjuries towards Anna Bothwell, (a sister of Lord Holyroodhouse,) whose lament has exercised the subtle wits of antiquarians, in the ascertainment of her pedigree. She has been made out to be the divorced Countess of Bothwell, and also, I believe, a Miss Boswell of Auchinleck; but a passage in Father Hay's *M.S. History of the Holyroodhouse Family*, seems to confirm the tradition beyond a possibility of doubt. Recording the children of Bishop Bothwell, who died 1593, he tells us—'He had also a daughter named Anna, who fell with child to a sone of the Earle of Mar.' Colonel Alexander's portrait, which belonged to his mother, is exceedingly handsome, with much vivacity of countenance, dark blue eyes, a peaked beard, and moustaches:—

Ay me! I fell—and yet no question make
What I should do again for such a sake."

Father Hay has thus recorded the seduction of Anna Bothwell, in his *Diplomatum Collectio*, (*M.S. Advoc. Lib. v. Liber Cart. Sancte Crucis*, p. xxxviii):—"Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, became Abbot of Holyroodhouse after Robert Steward, base son to King James the fifth by Euphem Elphinstone; who was created Earle of Orkney and Lord Shetland by King James the Sixth, 1581. This Adam was a younger brother to Sir Richard Bothwell, provost of Edinburgh in Queen Maries time, and a second sone to Sir Francis Bothwell, lord of the Session in King James the fifts time, and was begotten upon Anna Livingstone, daughter to the Lord Livingstone. He married Margaret Murray, and begote upon her John, Francis, William, and George Bothwells, and a daughter Anna, who by her nurses deceit, fell with child to a sone of the Earle of Mar."

Both the face and figure of Colonel Sir Alexander Erskine are very peculiar, as represented in his portrait. He is dressed in armour, with a rich scarf across his right shoulder, and a broad vandyked collar round his neck. The head is unusually small for the body; and the features of the face, though handsome, are sharp, and the face tapering nearly to a point at the chin. The effect of this is considerably heightened by the length of his moustaches, and his peaked beard, or rather imperial, as the tuft below the under lip which leaves the contour of the chin exposed is generally termed. The whole combines to convey a singularly sly and cat-like expression, which—unless we were deceived when examining it by our knowledge of the leading incidents of his history—seem very characteristic of the "dear deceiver."

The original portrait, by Jamieson, bears the date and age of Colonel Erskine—1628, aged 29. Two stanzas of the ballad, somewhat varied, occur in Browne's *Play of the Northern Lass*, printed in 1632—not 1606 as erroneously stated before. From this we may infer, not only that the ballad must have been written very shortly after the event that gave rise to it—possibly by Anna Bothwell herself—but also that the seducer must himself have been very young, so that the nurse is probably not unfairly blamed by Father Hay as an active agent in poor Anna's wrongs.

the army, wer all present. Thair was a gaird, also, of the maist able burgessis of the toun, quha did gaird the croce, tabill and streitis during this feast, all of thame weill apperellit, and with partizens in thair handis, to the number of four or fyve hundreth persones or thairby, in very gude equipage and ordor. And in the meantyme, quhyll thair wer thus feasting at the Croce, the haill bellis in Edinburgh and Cannogait did reing, the drumes did beatt, trumpettis soundit, the haill troupes on hor-bak, and sodgeris on fute being also within the toun at this tyme and upone service, with the haill inhabitantes, both men, wemen, and chyldrene, gave thair severall volyca. Thair wer numberis of trumpettis and trumpettouris at this solemnpnitie, quha actit thair pairtes formalie. Farder, at nycht thair wes bonefyres put out throw the haill streitis of Edinburgh, and fyre workis both thair and at the Castell of Edinburgh, and within the Citidail of Leith that night, in abundance, till eftir xij houris and moir. Thair wer also sex violes, thrie of them base violes, playing thair continuallie. Thair wer also sum musicians placed thair, quha wer resolvit to act thair pairtes, and wer willing and reddy, bot by resonne of the frequent acclamations and cryes of the pepill universallie throw the haill toun, thair purpos wes interruptit. Bachus also, being set upone ane punzeon of wyne upone the frontische pece of the Croce with his cumerhaldis, wes not ydle. And in the end of this solemnpnitie, the effigies of that notable tyrant and traytor Oliver, being set up upone a pole, and the Devill upone aneuther, upone the Castell Hill of Edinburgh; it wes ordored by fyre wark, ingyne, and trayne, the devill did chase that traytour, and persewit him still, till he blew him in the air."

BURNING THE POPE.—Of a somewhat different character are the proceedings with which the populace celebrated the Christmas of 1680, in defiance of the more hospitable intentions of the Magistrates, who were anxious that no occurrence of an unpalatable nature should ruffle the serenity of the Duke of York, who had come to Scotland as Commissioner and representative of his royal brother Charles II., at the meeting of the Scottish Estates. The following is the account of these proceedings furnished by Lord Fountainhall, in his *Historical Observes* :—

"On the 26 of December 1680, being Christmas day, some of the schollars of the Colledge of Edinburgh having contributed together for the making ane effigies and image of the Pope, they entred in a bond and combination to burne him after a solemne procession on Yuille day, and gave oaths on to another for the secrecy of it; yet it came abroad, and a Councell being called on the 24 of December, at night, for preventing it, they ordered the Kings forces to be brought within the City of Edinburgh to oppose it, and seized on some English boyes of the name of Gray and others the next morning in thair beds, and imprisoned thame. Yet all this did not divert the designe, but, by a witty stratagem, the boyes carried a portrait to the Castlehil, (as if this blind had been the true on, and they had intended to carry it in procession doune the streets and performe ther ceremony and pageantrie in the Abbey Court over against the Duke of Albanies windows,) which made all the forces draw up at the West Bow head, and in the Grasse Mercat, leist the boyes should escape by coming doune the South Back of the Castle, and thus having stopped all avenues as they thought, thir boyes escaped by running doune vennells leading to the North Loch side, and other boyes carried the true effigies from the Grammar Schooll yeard to the head of Blackfreis Wind, and that on the Hy-Street, first clodded the picture with dirt, and then set fyre to the powder within the trunk of his body, and so departed. This was highlie resented by some as ane inhospitall affront, designed to the Duke of York, (though it was only to his religion and not to himselfe,) being a stranger among us, (though he be deschended of Scots blood,) and that it was but ane aperie of the London apprentices, who had done the like before, and that it opened the Papists' mouths to call us cruell. But what the boyes did in show, the Papists ware wont to do to us as hareticks in reality; and some thought boyes might as well sport themselves with this, as ministers in the pulpit affirme the Popes to have been bougerers, hareticks, adulterers, sorcerers, sodomites, &c.; the punishment whereof by all laws is *Vivi comburium*, burning alive;—and it was a compensation for his excommunicating all Protestants yearly on this day. In summe, it was a childish folly, and scarce deserved so much notice should have been taken of it."

The same incremation of his Holiness was re-enacted on the succeeding Christmas of 1681, accompanied with some additional proceedings characteristic of the temper of the Government, and the consequent reaction produced on the popular mind. Fountainhall remarks :—“We see a great stir made for the Colleginers burning the Pope at Christmas 1680; this year the boyes and prentices forboor ther solemnpny on Zuille day, because it happened to be a Sunday, but they had it on the 26 of December at night. Ther preparations ware so quiet that none suspected it this year; they brought him to the Croce, and fixed his chair in that place wher the gallows stands, he was trucked up in a red gounce and a mitar with 2 keyes over his arme, a crucifix in on hand and the oath of the Test in the other, then they put fyre to him, and it brunt lenthly till it came to the powder at which he blew up in the air. While they ware at this employment ther ware lightnings and claps of thunder, which is very unusuall at that season of the year. At this tyme many things were done in mockerie of the Test: on I shall tell. The children of Heriots Hospitall finding that the dog which keiped the yairds of that Hospitall had a publick charge and office, they ordained him to take the Test, and offered him the paper, but he, loving a bone rather than it, absolutely refused it; then they rubbed it over with butter, (which they called ane *Explication* of the Test in imitation of Argile,) and he licked of the butter but did spite out the paper, for which they held a jurie on him, and in derision of the sentence against Argile, they found the dog guilty of treason, and actually hanged him.”

X. WEST BOW. MAJOR WEIR.

IN our account of Major Weir, (Part ii. chap. ix.) his sister is styled Grizel Weir, in accordance with *Master James Frazer's Providential Passages*, a M.S. from which Mr George Sinclair has evidently borrowed the greater portion of his account of the Major, without acknowledging the source of his information. In Law's Memorials, however, as well as in Sinclair's *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, she bears the name of Jean Weir, by which she is most frequently alluded to. One of the witnesses examined on the trial of this noted wizard, as appears from the *Criminal Record in the Register House of Edinburgh*, was "Maister John Sinclare, minister at Ormistoun," who deponed, among other strange items of evidence, that "having asked him if he had seen the deivell, he answered, that any fealling he ever hade of him was in the dark!" Law's Memorials, note, p. 26.

Projects for improving the Old Town of Edinburgh, and for extending it beyond its ancient limits, appear to have engaged general attention even so early as the reign of Charles II., when the court and levees of the Duke of York at Holyrood, revived somewhat of the old life and splendour of the Scottish capital, which her citizens had so long been strangers to. On account of the narrow limits of the Old Town, its inhabitants were on nearly the same familiar footing as those of a country village; and schemes of improvement that might now lie unheeded for years in the hands of some civic committee, were then discussed at every club and change-house, until they became incorporated among the *fixed ideas* of the population, affording at any time a ready theme for the display of wisdom by that industrious class of idlers, usually composed of retired traders, country lairds, and half-pay officers, to whom a subject for grumbling over, and improving in theory, is as necessary as daily food.

In Gough's British Topography, (vol. ii. p. 674,) the following account appears of an ingenious model of Edinburgh, constructed about the middle of last century. It was, no doubt, furnished to the author by George Paton, and shows how early some of the *improvement schemes*, which have since cost the citizens so much both in *antiquities and taxes*, were made the subject of reforming speculations, and favourably entertained as desirable alterations on the snug and closely-packed little Scottish capital of the eighteenth century:—

"A model of Edinburgh was executed by the late Mr Gavin Hamilton, bookseller: it was most accurately done, with his intended improvements of carrying a street of a gentle ascent from the Grassmarket in a line up to the west end of the Luckenbooths, for which purpose he could shift the representation of the houses, and lay open his plan to public view. This finished work cost him some years labour, and was shewn in a room of the Royal infirmary in 1753 and 1754: but after his death it was neglected, and destroyed for firewood. His proposals, like other commodious, salutary, and beneficial projects for the improvement of the place, were rejected; as was likewise the scheme of an entry into the High Street of Edinburgh from St Cuthbert's or West Church, along the hill side by south and west of the Castle, which by a gradual ascent might be completed at no very considerable sum, to facilitate the easier conveyance of carriages from the south and west than by the West Bow, a most inconvenient and steep height for horses with coals and other articles for the citizens use: this might terminate the head of the causeway on the Castle Hill. A south entry to the High Street being much wanted for the same necessary purposes, has been of late proposed, but hitherto rejected also, from an excess of toll all needful carriages would be subjected to, which many of the inhabitants are unable to bear.

"Sir John Dalrymple has been at uncommon care and expence in causing to be executed an accurate survey and plan for an easy access into the city from the south, by a gentle declivity and ascent from the High Street at the head of Marlin's Wynd to Nicolson's park in a streight line, without any arch."

The following *jeu d'esprit* may suffice, like some of the school-rymed arithmetical and grammatical rules, days of the month, and the like useful helps to short memories, to preserve in the reader's recollection some memento of the strange associations that have already been related in sober prose as pertaining to the old West Bow; the like of which he will in vain seek for in any existing corner either of the Old or New Town.

THE WAST BOW.

DEDICATED TO THE HON. BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR CITY IMPROVEMENTS.

Through the auld Wast Bow, and to the Grass-Market,
 Mony a ane has gane doun fast an' erie;
 Gentles wi' hollands fu' brawly besarkit,—
 Covenant haulders o' warld's care fu' weary,—
 Doom gaol an' gallows birds naething has carkit,
 Fu' dauntonly fitting it to the Grass-Market.
 Hurrying doun, stoiterin' an' stumblin',
 The gleger ye gang better luck against tumblin'!

Up o'er its crooked an' dingy auld causey,
 Fu' stately an' trig in their cleadin' o' braws,
 Our Jamies escorted ilk royal Scottish lassie
 To weddin' and beddin' in Holyrood ha's ;
 Our pedant, King Jamie, King Charlie the saucy,
 An' bauld Noll, rade in state, ilka ane o'er its causey.
 Hurrying down, &c.

An' Provost an' Bailies, fu' prudely I'se warrant,
 Ha'e bided for Royalty doun the Wast Bow ;
 An' speered at the yett, whan he cam, for his errand,
 An' kecked round the corner, wi' face in a low ;
 An' Deacon an' Guild-Dean, an' Town-Clerk auld-farand,
 Practeesing their best bow fu' loyale I'se warrant.
 Hurrying down, &c.

An' then there's the Major, sin' less winna ser' him,
 His servitude haulds o'er the crook o' the Bow,
 Wi' his tattie, sin' better folk wanna gang near him,
 Come thundering at midnight in glamour a'low ;
 The Deil for their coachman ; a whup wi' some smeddum,
 As needs maun wha drive wi' auld Clooty to lead 'em.
 Hurrying down, &c.

Or belyve, for a change, just as twal' is a bangin',
 Whir, out frae the pend, in a whirlwind o' flame,
 Ilk clout, wi' a low frae the causey it's clangin',
 The headless hell-charger gangs galloping hame ;
 Ill luck to the loon says gude e'en as he's gangin',
 He were better gae doun the Wast Bow to his hangin'.
 Hurrying down, &c.

An' dinna forget, o' the auld gousty alley,
 The Major's black caddie, his stick o' a' sticks,
 At his bidin' on errands a shopin' wad sally,
 Wad chap at the counter an' play aff its tricks ;
 Yet ne'er ane wagged his tongue 'gainst the Major's queer vally,
 As he chanced on him daunderin' doun the auld alley.
 Hurrying down, &c.

An' then there's Jock Porteous's gaist took an airin',
 Wi' his gun o'er his shouther just primed for a shot,
 Ance a year, at the fit o' the Bow disappearin',
 Whar the dyster's pole ser'ed for the raxin' he got.
 Deil ane, gaist or gomrell, wad think o' repairin',
 To the new-fangled Bow for to tak him an airin'.
 Hurrying down, &c.

Foul fa' the Commissioners wi' their improvements,
 Their biggins, an' howkins, an' sweepins awa ;
 May the Major, when neist bent on ane o' his movements,—
 'Tis the warst-waled retour that I was may befa',—
 Whisk his coach doun the Bow, just for ilk anes behovements,
 Wi' a team o' Commissioners o' the Improvements.
 Hurrying down, stoiterin' an' stumblin',
 The glegger ye gang better luck against tumblin'!

XI. OLD BANK CLOSE. ASSASSINATION OF SIR GEORGE LOCKHART BY CHIESLEY OF DALRY.

THE following is the circumstantial narrative of this savage act of vengeance, furnished in Father Hay's Manuscript Memoirs, (Advocate's Library, tome iii. p. 135) :—

“ It was not known that the villain was com'd from London till Sunday the 31st, which day he came to the New Church, and offered money to the bedler for a part of my Lord Castlehills seat, just behind the Presidents, whom he designed to have murdered there; but not getting the seat, he would have none at all, and walked up and down the church till the end of the sermon. When sermon was done, Chiesley went out before the President, and gained his closs head, where he saluted him going down, as the President did Chiesley. My Lord Castlehill and Daniel Lockhart conveyed [the President] a peace down the closs, and talked a while with him, after which they both departed. The President called back the last, and whilst Daniel was returning, Dalrey approached, to whom Daniel said, ‘ I thought you had been att London,’ without receiving any other answer than that ‘ He was there now.’ Daniel offered to take him by the hand, but the other shuffled by him, and coming close to the Presidents back discharged his pistol, before that any suspected his design : The bullet going in beneath the right shoulder, and out att the left pap, was battered on the wall.

“ The President immediately turned about, looked the murderer grievously in the face; and then finding himself beginning to faile, he leant to the wall, and said, ‘ Hold me, Daniel; hold me.’ These were his last words. He was carried immediately to his own house, and was almost dead before he could reach it. Daniel and the Presidents Chaplain apprehended, in the mean time, Dalrey, who own'd the fact, and never offered to fie. He was carried to the guard, kept in the Weigh-house, and afterwards taken to prisone.

“ The Presidents Ladie, hearing the shot and a cry in the closs, got in her smock out of her bed, and took the dead bodie in her arms, at which sight swoounding she was carried to her chamber. The corps were laid in the same room where he used to consult. The first of Aprile a Meeting of the States was call'd, att nine of the clock, anent the Murderer. The Provost of Edinburgh and two Bailiffs, with the Earle of Errol's deputys, were admitted to concurr if they pleased. Two of each bench of the meeting, viz. the Earle of Eglinton and Glencarne, Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Boyne and Blacbarroure, Barons, Sir John Dalrymple and Mr William Hamilton, Burgesses, were impower'd to sit on the Assize, and to cause torture Dalrey, to know if any other was accessarie to the murder. The President's friends, out of tenderness to the Ladie and childring, did not insiat upon the crime of assassination of a Judge and Privy Counsellor. Calderwood, designed Writter in Edinburgh, upon suspicion was imprisoned. He was waiting at the closs head when the shot was given, and fled thereafter. He had been likewise seen with Dalrey att the Abbey the Saturday before, following the President as he came from Duke Hamilton's lodgeing.

“ The Court sat down as the States rose. The Murderer was brought in, who did not deny the fact, and confes that none was accessarie. He got the boots and the thumekina. Dureing the torture he confessed nothing. Cardross and Polwart were against the torturing. Calderwood was brought in also, but confessed nothing. Sir George was buried in the Gray Friers Church, upon the south side. He was a great favourer of the King's, no friend to the Roman Catholics, and an open enmie of Melford's, whom he regarded as the author of all the troubles brought upon the King and Country.”

The Lady Grange, the romantic story of whose captivity in the Island of St Kilda has since furnished materials both for the novelist and the historian, was a daughter of the assassin, Chiesley of Dalry, and is said to have owed her strange fate to the fierce and vindictive spirit she inherited from her father. Lord Grange entered deeply into the politics of the time, and his wife is believed to have obtained possession of some of the secrets of his party, the disclosure of which would have involved the leaders in great danger, if not in ruin. This accounts for the ready co-operation he found from men otherwise unlikely to have shared in such an abduction. Lady Grange is said to have accelerated the fate which her husband meditated for her, by reminding him, in a fit of passion, “ that she was Chiesley's daughter,” a threat that implied he might experience a fate similar to that of the Lord President if he provoked her anger. A curious account of the abduction and confinement of Lady Grange in the Western Isles, will be found in the Edinburgh Magazine for 1817.

In the *Archæologia Scotica*, (vol. iv. p. 18,) Father Hay's narrative is accompanied with the following letter from Sir Walter Scott, addressed to E. W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, in reference to the finding of the assassin's bones at Dalry. The reader will see that it greatly differs from the account we have given, (vol. i. p. 179.) The latter is derived from Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., a better authority, we have no hesitation in saying, on questions of *fact* and *antiquarian research*, than Sir Walter Scott, who, moreover, evidently writes with an imperfect recollection of what he had heard; whereas Mr Sharpe's own grandfather was proprietor of Dalry at the period, and he has himself often heard the facts related by his father, who was present when the discovery was made. The reader, however, has now both versions of the story, and may adopt which of them pleases him best :—

“ Dear Sir—I return the curious and particular account of Sir George Lockhart’s murder by Chiesley of Dalry. It is worthy of antiquarian annotation, that Chiesley was appointed to be gibbeted, not far from his own house, somewhere about Drumsheugh. As he was a man of family, the gibbet was privately cut down and the body carried off. A good many years since some alterations were in the course of being made in the house of Dalry, when, on enlarging a closet or cellar in the lower story, a discovery was made of a skeleton, and some fragments of iron, which (were) generally supposed to be the bones of the murderer Chiesley. His friends had probably concealed them there when they were taken down from the gibbet, and no opportunity had occurred for removing them before their existence was forgotten. I was told of the circumstance by Mr James Walker, then my brother in office, and proprietor of Dalry. I do not, however, recollect the exact circumstance, but I dare say Francis Walker Drummond can supply my deficiency of memory.—Yours truly, WALTER SCOTT. Shandwick Place, 15th January 1829. To E. W. A. Drummond Hay, Esq.”

XII. SIR DAVID LINDSAY.

IN the quotation from Sir David Lindsay’s *Complaynt*, (vol. i. p. 39,) the text of Chalmers has been followed. Slight as the change is that its punctuation requires to render it correct, the alteration in its sense is very considerable. It should be read thus :—

The first sillabis that thow did mute
Was pa, da, Lyn. Upon the lute
Then playit I twentie springis perqueir,
Quhilk was greit plesour for to heir.

“ Any old woman in Scotland,” says Sir Walter Scott, in his notes to *Marmion*, “ will bear witness that *pa, da, Lyn*, are the first efforts of a child to say *where’s David Lindsay?*” A still better reading of it has been suggested, and the true one, as we think, viz. *Play Davy Lindsay*. The poems of Lindsay have now ceased to occupy the place they so long held in the library of the Scottish cottage, yet some trace of their former study is still preserved in the common rustic expression of scepticism—*It’s no between the brods o’ Davy Lindsay!*—implying that not even Lindsay, whom nothing escapes, has noticed the thing in question.

XIII. UMFRAVILLE’S CROSS.

A few additional notices of the Scottish Umfravilles may perhaps help to suggest a clue to the date of erection of the ancient cross that formerly stood on the boundary of the Borough Moor, at St Leonard’s Loan, (vol. ii. p. 293.) In the year 1304, Edward, Longshanks, granted an indemnity to the Scots under certain conditions, one of which imposed a graduated scale of fines on the Scottish clergy and nobles, proportioned in its severity to the opposition he had encountered from them, and the tardiness of their submission to his power. The heaviest of all these oppressive exactions is imposed on INGELRAM DE UMFRAVILLE, and a proportionately severe fine is required from his vassals.—(Lord Hailes’s *Annals*, vol. i. p. 288.) This, therefore, indicates one of the chief leaders of the Scots against their English invaders. His fine was to extend over a period of ten years, long before which Edward was in his grave, and nearly every place of strength in Scotland had been wrested from his imbecile son. There seems little reason to doubt that Ingelram de Umfraville would early avail himself of an opportunity to renounce a foreign yoke burdened by such exactions, and to bear his part in expelling the invaders from the kingdom. The following, however, is the very different account of Nisbet, in his “ *Historical and Critical Remarks on the Ragman Roll*,” (p. 11,) if it refer to the same person :—

“ Ingelramus de Umfraville was a branch of the Umfraville family that were Englishmen, but possessed of a great estate in Angus, and elsewhere, which they lost, because they would not renounce their allegiance to England, and turn honest Scotsmen. In the rolls of King Robert I. there are charters of lands granted by that Prince, upon the narrative that the lands had formerly belonged, and forfeited to the Crown, by the attainder of *Ingelramus de Umfraville*.”

At an early date the Scottish Umfravilles occupied a high rank. In 1243, Gilbert de Umfraville, Lord of Prudhow and Herbottill, in Northumberland, became Earl of Angus, by right of his marriage with Matilda, Countess in her own right. The name of *Gilleberto de Umframull* appears as a witness to a confirmation of one of the charters of Holyrood Abbey, granted by William the Lion, (*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, p. 24 ;) and in a subsequent charter in the same reign he appears as bestowing a carukate of land in Kinard on the same Abbey. (*Ibid.* p. 34.) These notes can afford at best only

grounds for surmise as to the knight whose memorial cross was not altogether demolished till the year 1810. The base of it, which remained on its ancient site till that recent date, was a mass of whinstone, measuring fully five feet square, by about three feet high above ground. There was a square hole in the centre of it, wherein the shaft of the cross had been inserted. We are informed that it was broken up and used for paving the road.

The poet Claudero, of whom some account is given in a succeeding note, has dedicated an elegy to the "Tuneful Nine," "*On the Pollution of St Leonard's Hill, a consecrated and ancient burial-place, near Edinburgh.*" The following stanzas will be sufficient to account for the complete eradication of every vestige of its hospital and graves from the ancient site:—

The High Priest there, with art and care,
Hath purg'd with gard'ner's skill,
And trench'd out bones, of Adam's sons,
Repos'd in Leonard's Hill!

Graves of the dead, thrown up with spade,
Where long they slept full still,
And turnips grow, from human pow,
Upon St Leonard's Hill!

XIV. GREYFRIARS' MONASTERY.

THE residence of Henry VI. of England, as well as his heroic Queen and their son, at the Greyfriars' Monastery in the Grassmarket, after the total overthrow of that unfortunate monarch's adherents at the battle of Towton, is referred to in the description of the Grassmarket, (vol. i. p. 18, ii. p. 122.) The visit of Henry to the Scottish capital has, however, been altogether denied by some writers. The following note by Sir W. Scott, on the fifth canto of *Marmion*, ought to place this at least beyond doubt:—

"Henry VI. with his Queen, his heir, and the chiefs of his family, fled to Scotland after the fatal battle of Towton. In this note a doubt was formerly expressed, whether Henry VI. came to Edinburgh, though his Queen certainly did; Mr Pinkerton inclining to believe that he remained at Kirkcudbright. But my noble friend Lord Napier has pointed out to me a grant by Henry, of an annuity of forty marks to his Lordship's ancestor, John Napier, subscribed by the King himself, at *Edinburgh*, the 28th day of August, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, which corresponds to the year of God, 1461. This grant, Douglas, with his usual neglect of accuracy, dates in 1368. But this error being corrected from the copy in Macfarlane's M.S.S. pp. 119, 120, removes all scepticism on the subject of Henry VI. being really at Edinburgh. John Napier was son and heir of Sir Alexander Napier, and about this time was Provost of Edinburgh. The hospitable reception of the distressed monarch and his family called forth on Scotland the encomium of Molinet, a contemporary poet. The English people, he says,—

Ung nouveau roy créerent,
Par despiteux vouloir,
Le vieil en deboutérent,
Et son legitime hoir,
Qui fuytyf alla prendre
D'Escossé le garand.
De tous siccles le mendre,
Et le plus tollerant.—*Recollection des Aventures.*"

No such doubts seem to have been entertained by earlier writers on the question of Henry's entertainment at Edinburgh. The author of the *Martial Achievements* remarks, in his *Life of James III.* (Abercrombie's *Martial Achievements*, vol. ii. p. 384):—"A battle ensued between Caxton and Towton, King Edward gained the day, and King Henry, hearing of the event (for he was not allowed to be at the battle, his presence being thought fatal to either of the parties that had it,) hastened with his wife and only son, first to Berwick, where he left the Duke of Somerset, and then to Edinburgh, where he was received with uncommon civility, being honourably lodged and royally entertained by the joint consent of the then Regents."

The same writer, after detailing various negotiations, and the final agreement entered into, between Henry and the

administrators of Government in Scotland, James III. being then a minor, adds :—" These transactions being completed, the indefatigable Queen of England left the King, her husband, at his lodgings in the Gray-Friers of Edinburgh, where his own inclinations to devotion and solitude made him choose to reside, and went with her son into France."—(Ibid. p. 386.)

XV. THE WHITEFRIARS' MONASTERY.

THE following curious fact, relating to the Monastery of the Carmelite Friars, founded at Greenside, under the Calton Hill, in the year 1526, is appended in the form of a note to the description of this monastic order, in the third part of " Lectures on the Religious Antiquities of Edinburgh, by a Member of the Holy Guild of St Joseph," (p. 129,) and is stated, we have reason to believe, on the authority of a well-known Scottish antiquary :—

" The humble brother of our Holy Guild who is now engaged in an endeavour to form a *Monasticum Scoticum*, informs me, on undoubted authority, that the succession of the Priors of Greenside is still perpetuated in the Carmelite Convent at Rome, and his informant has seen the friar who bore the title of *Il Padre Priore di Greenside*."

XVI. ST KATHERINE'S WELL.

THE marvellous history of the origin of this well (vol. ii. p. 198) rests on very early authority. Boece gives the following account of both the well and chapel :—" Ab hoc oppido plus minus duobus passuum millibus, fons cui olei guttæ innatant, scatturit ea vi, ut si nihil inde collegeris, nihilo plus confluat; quantumvis autem abstuleris nibilo minus remaneat. Natam esse aiunt effuso illic oleo Divæ Catherinæ, quod ad Divam Margaritam, ex Monte Sinai adferebatur. Fidem rei faciunt, Fonti nomen Divæ Catherinæ inditum, atque in ejusdem honorem sacellum juxta, Divæ Margaritæ jussu ædificatum. Valet hoc oleum contra varias cutis scabrics." Dr Turner thus describes the substance which forms the peculiar characteristic of this and similar wells :—

" Petroleum and Bitumen. Under these names are known certain natural tarry matters, more or less fluid, which have evidently resulted from the decomposition of wood or coal, either by heat or by spontaneous action under the surface of the earth. The most celebrated are those of Persia and the Birman empire, and of Amiano in Italy."—(Elements of Chemistry, seventh edition, p. 1182.)

The following analysis of the water of St Katherine's Well has been made expressly for this work, in the chemical laboratory of Dr George Wilson, F.S.A. :—" The water from St Katherine's Well contains, after filtration, in each imperial gallon, grs. 28.11 of solid matter, of which grs. 8.45 consist of soluble sulphates and chlorides of the earths and alkalies, and grs. 19.66 of insoluble calcareous carbonates."

XVII. CLAUDERO.

THE eccentric poet *Claudero* deserves special notice among the Memorials of Edinburgh in the olden time, as he has not only commemorated in his verse some of the most striking objects of the Old Town that have disappeared, but he appears to have been almost the sole remonstrant against their reckless demolition. James Wilson, the poet and satirist, who amused the citizens some eighty years ago with his humorous and somewhat coarse lampoons, was a native of Cumbernauld, some of whose characters form the subject of his verse. He was a cripple, in consequence, it is said, of the merciless beating he received from his own parish minister at Cumbernauld, where he had rendered himself an object of universal hatred or fear by his mischief-loving disposition. The account of this unwonted practice of clerical discipline, which is given in the Traditions of Edinburgh, states that the occasion of his lameness was a pebble thrown from a tree at the minister, who, having been previously exasperated by his tricks, chased him to the end of a closed lane, and with his cane inflicted such personal chastisement, as rendered him a cripple, and a hater of the whole body of the clergy, all the rest of his life. He went with a crutch under one arm, and a staff in the opposite hand; one withered leg swinging entirely free from the ground. The poetical merits of Claudero's compositions are of no very high order, but it can hardly be doubted, notwithstanding, that all this youthful energy which rendered him so great a torment to the whole village and parish, might have been turned to some good account under gentler moral suasion than his Reverence of Cumbernauld applied with *the pastoral staff* to his unruly parishioner.

Claudero had the good sense to disarm his numerous enemies of the handle they might find in the satirist's own personal deformity, by being the first to laugh at it himself. In his *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, published in 1766,

and dedicated to the renowned Peter Williamson, he remarks in the author's preface :—" I am regardless of critics ; perhaps some of my lines want a foot ; but then, if the critic look sharp out, he will find that loss sufficiently supplied in other places, where they have a foot too much ; and besides men's works generally resemble themselves ; if the poems are lame, so is the author !"

Claudero lived ostensibly by teaching a school, which he kept in an old tenement in the Cowgate, at the bottom of the High School Wynd. By his poetic effusions he contrived to eke out a precarious income, deriving no unfrequent additions to his slender purse, both by furnishing lampoons to his less witty fellow citizens who desired to take their revenge on some offending neighbour by such means, and by engaging to suppress similar effusions, which he frequently composed on some of the rich but sensitive old burghers, who willingly feed him to secure themselves against such a public pillory. He latterly added to his *professional* income by performing *half-merk* marriages, an occupation which, no doubt, afforded him additional satisfaction, as he was thereby taking their legitimate duties out of the hands of his old enemies, the clergy.

Claudero, like other great men who have kept the world in awe, was himself subjected to a domestic rule sufficiently severe to atone to his bitterest enemies for the wrongs they suffered from his pen. His wife was an accomplished virago, whose shrewish tongue subdued the poetic fire of the poor satirist the moment he came within her sphere, though, probably with little increase to her own comfort. Like other poet's helpmates, she had, no doubt, frequent occasion to complain of an empty larder, and the shrill notes of her usual welcome often helped to send the not unwilling bard to some favourite *houf*, with its jolly circle of boon companions.

The first piece in Claudero's collected poems is, " The Echo of the Royal Porch of the Palace of Holy-rood-House, which fell under Military Execution, Anno 1753." From this it would appear that the military guardians of the Palace had been employed in this wanton act of destruction. The poet—or rather the Echo of the Old Porch—thus speaks of these " Sons of Mars, with black cockade :"—

They do not always deal in blood ;
Nor yet in breaking human bones,
For Quixot-like they knock down stones.
Regardless they the mattock ply,
To root out Scots antiquity.

In the same vein the poet mourns the successive demolition of the most venerable antiquities of Edinburgh ; generally allowing the expiring relic to speak its own grievances. The following is the lament for the old City Cross, which Claudero insinuates in the last line, was demolished lest its tattered and time-worn visage should shame the handsome polished front of the New Exchange ; and this idea is enlarged on in the piece with which it is followed up in the collection, entitled :—" The serious advice and exhortation of the Royal Exchange to the Cross of Edinburgh, immediately before its execution."

" *The last Speech and dying Words of the Cross of Edinburgh, which was hanged, drawn, and quartered, on Monday the 15th of March 1756, for the horrid Crime of being an Incumbrance to the Street.*

Ye sons of Scotia, mourn and weep,
Express your grief with sorrow deep ;
Let aged sires be bath'd in tears,
And ev'ry heart be fill'd with fears ;
Let rugged rocks with grief abound,
And Echos multiply the sound ;
Let rivers, hills, let woods and plains,
Let morning dews, let winds and rains,
United join to aid my woe,
And loudly mourn my overthrow.—
For *Arthur's Ov'n* and *Edinburgh Cross*,
Have, by new schemers, got a toss ;
We, heels o'er head, are tumbled down,
The modern taste is *London town*.

I was built up in *Gothic* times,
And have stood several hundred reigns ;
Sacred my mem'ry and my name,
For kings and queens I did proclaim.

I peace and war did oft' declare,
And roused my country ev'ry where :
Your ancestors around me walk'd ;
Your kings and nobles 'side me talk'd ;
And lads and lasses, with delight,
Set tryst with me to meet at night ;
No tryster e'er was at a loss,
For why, *I'll meet you at the Cross*.
I country people did direct
Through all the city with respect,
Who missing me, will look as droll
As mariners without the pole.
On me great men have lost their lives,
And for a *maiden* left their wives.
Low rogues likeways oft' got a peg
With turnip, —, or rotten egg ;
And when the mob did miss their butt,
I was bedaubed like any slut.

With loyal men, on loyal days,
 I dress'd myself in lovely bays,
 And with sweet apples treat the crowd,
 While they huzza'd around me loud.
 Professions many have I seen,
 And never have disturbed been,
 I've seen the *Tory* party slain,
 And *Whigs* exulting o'er the plain :
 I've seen again the *Tories* rise,
 And with loud shouting pierce the skies,
 Then crown their king, and chase the *Whig*
 From *Pentland-hill* to *Bothwell-brig*.
 I've seen the cov'nants by all sworn,
 And likewise seen them burnt and torn.
 I neutral stood, as peaceful *Quaker*,
 With neither side was I partaker.

I wish my life had longer been,
 That I might greater felices seen ;
 Or else like other things decay,
 Which Time alone doth waste away :
 But since I now must lose my head,
 I, at my last, this lesson read :
 ' Tho' wealth, and youth, and beauty shine,
 And all the graces round you twine,
 Think on your end, nor proud behave,
 There's nothing sure this side the grave.'

Ye jolly youths, with richest wine,
 Who drunk my dirge, for your propine,
 I do bequeath my lasting boon :

May heav'n preserve you late and soon :
 May royal wine, in royal bowls,
 And lovely women cheer your souls,
 Till by old age you gently die,
 To live immortal in the sky.

To own my faults I have no will,
 For I have done both good and ill ;
 As to the crime for which I die,
 To my last gasp, *Not guilty, I*.
 But to this magisterial hate
 I shall assign the pristine date.
 When the intrepid, matchless Charles
 Came here with many Highland Carls,
 And o'er my top, in public sight,
 Proclaim'd aloud his Father's Right ;
 From that day forth it was agreed,
 That I should as a Rebel bleed ;
 And at this time they think it meet
 To snatch my fabric off the street,
 Lest I should tell to them once more
 The tale I told ten years before.

At my destroyers bear no grudge,
 Nor do you stain their mason-ledge,
 Tho' well may all by-standers see
 That better masons built up me.
 The royal statue in the close
 Will share the fate of me, poor Cross ;
 Heav'n's, earth, and seas, all in a range,
 Like me, will perish for *Exchange*."

Few civic events connected with the destruction of old, or the rearing of new buildings, escape the poet's notice. One poem records the repair of the Abbey Church ; another mourns the rifling of its sepulchres ; a third refers to the laying the foundation stone of St Bernard's Mineral Well, 15th September 1760 ; while between these are lampoons and eulogies on old citizens, most of them long since forgotten. The fate of the Netherbow Port, which he witnessed, forms the subject of some of his wittiest prose, in " A Sermon preached by Claudero, on the Condemnation of the Netherbow Porch of Edinburgh, 9th July 1764, before a crowded audience." A brief extract from this will suffice for an example of his humour, which is the more curious, as what was then extravagant hyperbole, sounds now like the shrewdest foresight :—

" What was too hard for the great ones of the earth, yea even queens, to effect, is now, even now in our day, accomplished. No patriot duke opposeth the scheme, as did the great Argyll in the grand senate of our nation ; therefore the project shall go into execution, and down shall Edina's lofty porches be hurled with a vengeance.—Streets shall be extended to the east, regular and beautiful, as far as the Frigate Whins, and Porto Bello shall be a lodge for the captors of tea and brandy. The city shall be joined to Leith on the north, and a procession of wise masons shall there lay the foundation of a spacious harbour. Pequin or Nanquin shall not be able to compare with Edina for magnificence. Our city shall be the greatest wonder of the world ; and the fame of its glory shall reach the distant ends of the earth.

" No more shall the porch resound to the hammer of the cheerful Zaccheus ; and his neighbours are bathed in tears at the overthrow of his well-tuned anvil.

" The Nether-bow coffee-house of the loyal Smieton can now no longer enjoy its ancient name with propriety ; and from henceforth *The Revolution Coffeehouse* shall its name be called.

" Our gates must be extended wide for accommodating the gilded chariots, which, from the luxury of the age, are become numerous.—With an impetuous career they jostle against one another in our streets, and the unwary foot passenger is in danger of being crushed to pieces.

" The loaded cart itself cannot withstand their fury, and the hideous yells of Coal Johnie resound through the vaulted sky.—The sour-milk barrels are overturned, and deluges of Corstorphin cream run down our strands, while the poor unhappy milk-maid wrings her hands with sorrow.

" Who then can blame the wise guardians of Edina, whose greatest care is the preservation of her people, and the safety of her inhabitants ?—Be hush, therefore, ye malevolent tongues, let sedition perish, and animosities be forgotten."

This is followed by a soliloquy of the old Port, narrating some facts in its own history not unworthy of being recorded :—

“ *The last Speech, Confession, and dying Words, of the Netherbow Porch of Edinburgh, which was exposed to rouse and sale, on Thursday the 9th of August, 1764.*

“ I was erected by King James VI. of ever-glorious memory, whose effigies was put up on my inside, and stood there, till demolished by *Cromwell* the Usurper. My inscription is as follows :—

Anag.

Aris excubo.

Jacobus Rex.

Non sic excubiaz, nec circumstantia pila,

Ut tutatur amor.—

Englished thus :—

Watch-tow'rs, and thund'ring walls, vain fences prove,

No guards to monarchs like their peoples love.

Jacobus VI. Rex, Anna Regina, 1606.

“ May my clock be struck dumb in the other world, if I lie in this ; and may Mack, the reformer of *Edina's* lofty spires, never bestride my weather-cock on high, if I deviate from truth in these my last words. Tho' my fabric shall be levelled with the dust of the earth, yet I fall in hope, that my Cock shall be exalted on some more modern dome, where it shall shine like the burnished gold, reflecting the rays of the sun to the eyes of ages unborn. The daring Mack shall yet look down from my Cock, high in the airy region, to the brandy shops below, where large grey-beards shall appear to him no bigger than mutchkin bottles, and mutchkin bottles shall be in his sight like the spark of a diamond.

“ Many, alas ! have been my crimes, but the greatest of all was, receiving the head of the brave Marquis of Montrose from the hands of dastardly miscreants,” &c.

What the exact date or the incidents that marked the close of the poet's history were, we are not aware, though it is not very difficult to guess the probable career of such a worshipper at the shrines of Bacchus and the Muses. We learn from his poems that he visited London in 1765—if we are safe in drawing such inferences from any declaration of his verse—he seems to hint at a final abandonment of Edinburgh, its tasteless citizens being left free to get a bill for removing not the Cross alone, but even King Charles's statue, the pride of the Scottish capital, from Parliament Close, without any one molesting them with remonstrance in prose or ryme. All classes are represented as mourning the loss of this personification of virtue, clad in satiric guise. There is no doubt, however, that he died at Edinburgh in 1789, after having been one of the most noted among the minor characters in its compact little community for upwards of thirty years. His ghost may address the bereaved capital on his final exit, in a verse of the “ *Epistle to Claudero, on his arrival at London, 1765* : ”—

“ Now vice may rear her hydra's head,

And strike defenceless virtue dead ;

Religion's heart may melt and bleed

With grief and sorrow,

Since satire from your streets is fled,

Poor Edinburrow ! ”

XVIII. ST GILES'S CHURCH.

THE accompanying ground-plan of St Giles's Church is designed to illustrate the description of the successive additions to the ancient Parish Church of Edinburgh, given in the concluding chapter, (vol. ii. pp. 167-174.) It exhibits it as it existed previous to the alterations of 1829, and with the adjacent buildings which have been successively removed during the present century. We are indebted for the original drawing to the Rev. John Sime, chaplain of Trinity Hospital, whose ingenious model of the Old Church, with the Tolbooth, Luckenbooths, &c., has already been referred to.

REFERENCES TO THE GROUND-PLAN.

The light subdivisions between the pillars mark the party walls with which the ancient church was partitioned off into several places of worship. The large letters of reference in each mark the earliest sites of their pulpits. *H* shows the

old position of Dr Webster's pulpit in the Tolbooth Church, from which it was removed about the year 1792 to its latter position against the south wall, in front of the old turnpike, now demolished. *K* indicates the site of the old pulpit of the High Kirk, from whence it was removed about the years 1775-80, to its present position in front of the great east window. Previous to this alteration, the king's seat projected in front of the pillar directly opposite the pulpit, so that his majesty, or the successive representatives of royalty who occupied it, were within a convenient conversational distance of the preacher. This throws considerable light on the frequent indecorous colloquies that were wont to ensue between James VI. and the preachers in the High Kirk; and shows how very pointed and irritating to royalty must the rebukes and personalities have been, in which the divines of that day were accustomed to indulge, seated as his majesty thus was *vis-a-vis* with his uncourtly chaplain, like a culprit on the stool of repentance. King James, however, used to bandy words with the preacher with a tolerably good-natured indifference to the dignity of the crown.

The following references will enable the reader to find without difficulty the chief objects of interest in St Giles's Church, alluded to in the course of the work.

a The Preston, or Assembly Aisle, where the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland held its annual sessions previous to 1829.

b The Montrose Aisle.

c The Tomb of John, fourth Earl of Atholl.

d The Tomb of the Regent Murray.

e Door which stood always open during the day, approached by a flight of steps from the Parliament Close.

f Ancient Tomb, (described vol. ii. p. 166,) said to be that of William Sinclair Earl of Orkney, created Earl of Caithness by James II., in 1455. The whole of this chapel to the west of the buttress and centre pillar is now removed.

g The South Porch, built in 1387. The beautiful doorway has been rebuilt between the south pillars of the tower, as an entrance to the *Old Kirk*. Above this Porch was the Painted Chamber, (vide, vol. ii. p. 165,) in which a number of ancient charters were discovered in 1829, which, with the turret staircase indicated in the plan, and the beautiful little dormer window that lighted the Priest's Chamber, all disappeared under the hands of the *restorers*.

h The five Chapels built in 1387. The two west ones are now demolished.

i The Pillar of the Albany Chapel, (vide p. 168,) decorated with the arms of Robert Duke of Albany, and the Earl of Douglas.

k The ancient North Porch, with fine Norman doorway, demolished about 1760. The room above, entered by the narrow turnpike stair indicated in the plan, was the place of confinement of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, in 1644. This and the adjoining chapel to the east, are now entirely removed.

l A modern Doorway into Haddo's Hold Kirk, now built up.

m Modern North Doorway to the Old Kirk.

n Entrance to the old Belfry Turret, being a passage partitioned off from St Eloi's Chapel, nearly the whole site of which is now occupied with the new Belfry Turret.

o North Transept and Aisle, used as the City Clerk's Chambers.

p Opening under the Belfry.

q Modern North Entrances to the High Kirk, now built up.

r The Napier Tomb.

s Our Lady's Niche.

t Modern South Entrance to the High Kirk, now built up.

u Entrance to the Assembly Aisle.

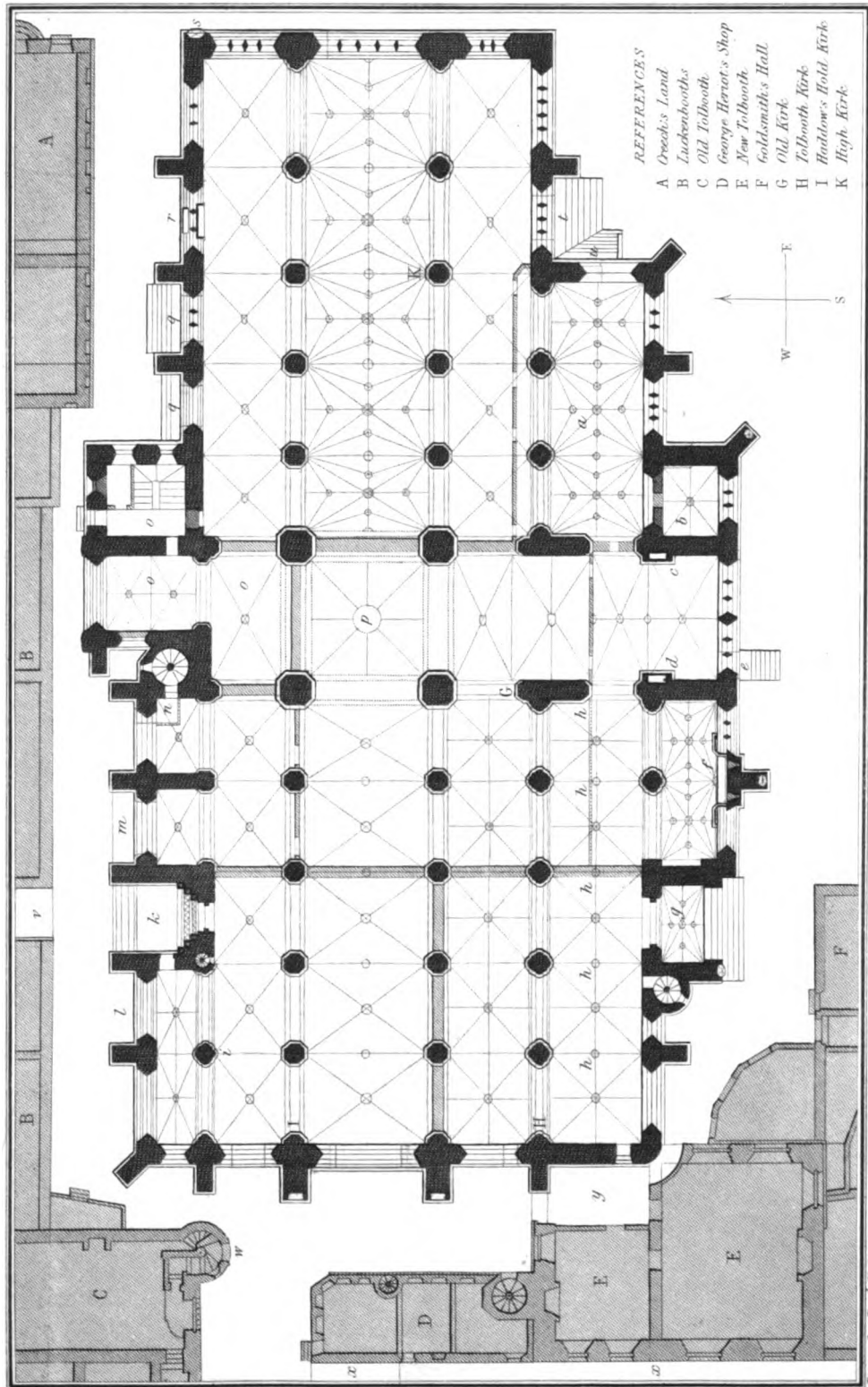
v Old Kirk Style, or Stinking Style.

w Entrance to the Old Tolbooth, assaulted by the Porteous Mob in 1636, and now rebuilt at Abbotsford.

x Beth's or Bess Wynd.

y Covered Passage from the Tolbooth to Parliament Close, through the New Tolbooth or Council House.

It is not unworthy of notice here that the Town Council Records prove that the different chaplainries of St Giles's Church, were held long after the Reformation had pulled down the altars and abolished their services. In September 1620, "James Lennox is elected chaplain of the Chapelry of the Holy Rood and Holy Crose, in the Burgh Kirk Yard of Saint Giles." This, no doubt, refers to the chapel founded and endowed by Walter Chepman in 1528. Every vestige of the chapel had disappeared a century before, and it is doubtful if even the lower church-yard, in which it had stood, was in existence at the date of this election; though it is probable that the "*Nether Kirk-yard*" remained in use long after the upper yard had been abandoned as a place of sepulture. So late as March 4th, 1629, "John Yair is elected chaplane of St Ninesan's Altar in the College Kirk of St Giles."



Engraved by W. Douglas

GROUND PLAN OF ST GILES'S CHURCH

PREVIOUS TO 1829.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

ST GILES'S CHURCH-YARD.—In Edgar's map of old Edinburgh there is shown about the middle of Forrester's Wynd, on the east side, a small open court, which retained till near the close of last century, distinct marks of having formed the entrance to the lower Church-yard of St Giles. It was pointed out as such early in the present century to the Rev. John Sime, by Mr Cunningham, the builder of Portobello Tower,—a fabric, wherein the chief sculptured stones and other relics of the ancient tenements demolished to make way for the South Bridge, have been preserved. Mr Cunningham described a curious piece of sculpture, emblematic of death, which appropriately decorated the lintel of the ancient gateway through which our forefathers were wont to be borne to their last resting-place. It is the same sculptured lintel, we have no doubt, which is thus alluded to in the Edinburgh Magazine for July 1800, "A long stone, on which was curiously sculptured a group resembling *Holbein's Dance of Death*, was some months ago discovered at the head of Forrester's Wynd, which, in former days was the western boundary of St Giles's High Church-yard. This relic was much defaced, and broken in two, by being carelessly tossed down by the workmen. It was a curious piece. Amid other musicians who brought up the rear, was an angel playing on the Highland bagpipe,—a national conceit, which appears also on the entablature of one of the pillars of the supremely elegant Gothic chapel at Roslin." We look in vain now for this singular specimen of early Scottish art, where it should have been preserved, in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

OAK COFFINS.—A description is given, vol. ii. p. 110, of the discovery of oaken coffins on the site of the lower church-yard, in 1844; the following notices of the Town Council Records, indicates the date and reason of their disuse. An Act of Council, September 30th, 1618, "Discharges Oak Kists to be made for burials of the deceased persones within the Brough." This, however, must have met with very slight attention, the ancient usages in reference to the burial of the dead being in all countries and states of society the most difficult to eradicate. Another Act of the Town Council, in February 1635, prohibits the *Oak Kists* being brought to the Greyfriars' Church-yard, "The burial place in Greyfriars being scarce capable of the dead bodies occasioned through Wainscott Kista." Even this failed in securing sufficient room for the dead, and an Act of Town Council, dated 1st April 1636, provides for the augmentation of the Greyfriars' burial-ground.

XIX. ANCIENT LODGINGS.

A few additional notices of some value, regarding some of the ancient mansions referred to in the course of the work, are introduced here, having been overlooked when preparing the Text, or only discovered when too late to insert in their proper places.

WINTOUN HOUSE.—The site of the ancient mansion of the Earls of Wintoun is described, vol. ii. p. 83. The following notice of it appears in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, a very curious collection of contemporary records of the sixteenth century, printed by the Bannatyne Club, the practical value of which is greatly abridged by the want of an index:—"Vpoun the xij day of Februar, the zeir of God foirsaid, *Henrie lord Dornie*, eldest sone to Matho erle of Lennox, come to Edinburgh be post fra England, and wes lugeit in my lord Seytouns lugeing in the Cannongait besyid Edinburgh."—(*Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 79.)

CARDINAL BEATON'S HOUSE.—From the following notices it will be seen that the ancient tenement still standing (though greatly modernized) in the Cowgate, at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd, was the scene of the first festivities in Edinburgh after the arrival of Queen Mary, and was, not long after, honoured by her own presence, with the chief nobles of her court:—

"Vpoun the xix day of August lxj, Marie, quene of Scottis, oure souerane ladie, arryvit in the raid of Leith at sex houris in the mornyng, accompanyt onlie with tua gallionis; and thair come with hir in cumpany monsieur Domell, the grand pryour, monsieur marques, [d'Elbeuf] the said quenes grace moder broder, togidder with monsieur Danguill, [d'Amville] second sone to the constable of France, with certane vther nobill gentilmen; and at ten houris the samen day, hir hienes landit vpoun the schoir of Leith, and remanit in Andro Lambis hous be the space of ane hour, and thair-efter wes convoyit vp to hir palice of Halyrudhous.

"Vpoun the xxiiij day of August, quhilk wes Sunday, the quenes grace causit say mes in hir hienes chappell within hir palice of Halyrudhous, quhairat the lordis of the congregatioun wes grittumlie annoyit.

"Vpoun the last day of August lxj, the toun of Edinburgh maid the banket to monsieur Domell, the grand pryour, marques, and monsieur Danguill, in ane honourable maner, within the lugeing sumtyme pertenyng to the cardinall.

"Vpoun the first day of September, the said monsieur Domell departit with the twa gallionis quhilk brocht the quenes grace hame to France, and his broder remanit in Scotland.

"Vpoun the secund day of September lxj, the quenes grace maid hir entres in the burgh of Edinburgh on this maner. Hir hienes departit of Halyrudhous, and raid be the lang gait on the north syid of the said burgh, vnto the tyme scho come to the castell, quheir wes ane zet maid to hir, at the quhilk scho, accompanijt with the maist pairt of the nobilitie

of Scotland except my lord duke and his sone, come in and raid vp the castell bank to the castell, and dynit thairin ; and quhen sho had dynit at tuelf houris, hir hienes come furth of the said castell towart the said burgh, at quhilk departing the artailzerie schot vehementlie. And thairefter, quhen sho was rydand down the castellhill, thair met hir hienes ane convoy of the zoung mene of the said burgh, to the nomber of fyftie, or thairby, thair bodeis and theis coverit with zeallow taffateis, thair armes and leggs fra the kne doun bair, culloit with blak, in maner of Moris, vpon thair heiddes blak hattis, and on thair faces blak visouris, in thair mowthis rings, garnesit with intellable precious staneis, about thair neckkis, leggis and armes infynit of chenis of gold ; togidder with saxtene of the maist honest men of the toun, cled in veluot gownis and veluot bonettis, berand and gangand about the pail wnder the quhilk her hienes ruid ; quhilk pail wes of fyne purpouir veluet lynit with reid taffateis, freinziet with gold and silk ; and efter thame wes ane cart with certane bairnes, togidder with ane coffer quhairin wes the copburd and propyne quhilk suld be propynit to hir hienes ; and quhen hir grace come fordwart to the butter trone of the said burgh, the nobilitie and convoy foirsaid precedand, at the quhilk butter trone thair was ane port made of tymber, in maist honourable maner, culloit with fyne coulouris, hungin with syndric armes ; vpon the quhilk port wes singand certane barneis in the maist hevinlie wyis ; vnder the quhilk port thair wes ane cloud opynnand with four levis, in the quhilk was put ane bony barne. And quhen the quenis hienes was cumand throw the said port, the said cloude opynnit, and the barne descendit doun as it had bene ane angell, and deliuerit to hir hienes the keyis of the toun, togidder with ane bybill and ane psalme buik, coverit with fyne purpouir veluot ; and efter the said barne had spoken some small speiches, he deliuerit alsua to hir hienes thre writtingis, the tennour thair of is vncertane. That being done, the barne ascendit in the cloud, and the said clud stekit ; and thairefter the quenis grace come doun to the tolbuith, at the quhilk was twa skaffattis, ane abone and ane vnder that ; vpon the vnder was situat ane fair wirgin, callit Fortoune, vnder the quhilk was thrie fair virgynnis, all cled in maist precious attyrement, callit [Peace] Justice and Policie. And efter ane litell speiche maid thair, the quenis grace come to the croce, quhair thair was standand four fair virgynnis, cled in the maist hevinlie cleything, and fra the quhilk croce the wyne ran out at the spouttis in greit abundance ; thair wes the noyiss of pepill casting the glassis with wyne. This being done, our souerane ladie come to the salt trone, quhair thair wes sum spekaris ; and efter ane litell speiche, thaj brunt vpon the skaffet maid at the said trone, the maner of ane sacrifice ; and swa that being done, sho departit to the nether bow, quhair thair wes ane vther skaffet maid, havand ane dragoun in the samyn, with some speiches ; and efter that the dragoun was brynt, and the quenis grace hard ane psalme song, hir hienes past to hir abbay of Halyrudhous with the said convoy and nobilities ; and thair the bairnes quhilk was in the cairt with the propyne maid some speiche concernyng the putting away of the mess, and thairefter sang ane psalme ; and this being done, the cart come to Edinburgh, and the said honest men remaynit in her vther chalmer, and desyred hir grace to ressaue the said copeburd, quhilk wes double ourgilt ; the price thair of wes ij^m merkis ; quha ressaueit the samyne, and thankit thame theirof. And sua the honest men and convoy come to Edinburgh."

" And vpon the nynt day of Februar at evin, the quenis grace and the remanent lordis come up in ane honourabill maner fra the palice of Halyrudhous, to the *cardinalis ludging in the Blak Freir wynd*, quhilk wes preparit and hung maist honourable ; and thair hir hienes sowpit and the rest with her ; and efter supper the honest young men in the toun come with ane convoy to hir, and vther sum come with merschance, weill accouterit in masry, and thairefter departit to the said palice. And the samyn nycht Thomas Grahame, comptroller to the quenis grace, decessit in the cunsie hous besyid Halyrudhous."

FIRST COACH IN SCOTLAND.—The following incidental notice in the "Memorie of the Somervilles," may be inserted here, as bearing on the same period of Quenen Mary's arrival in Scotland.—"About Ten o'clock the Regent [Morton] went to the House, which was the same which is now the Tolbuith Church, in Coach. Ther was non with him but the Lord Boyd, and the Lord Somervill. This was the second Coach that came to Scotland. The first being brought by Alexander, Lord Sentone, when Queen Mary came from France."

BAILIE MACMORRAN'S HOUSE, RIDDLE'S CLOSE.—If the following notice in Birrel's Diary refers to the old mansion still standing in Riddle's Close, Lawnmarket, (described vol. i. p. 168.) of which there can scarcely be any reasonable doubt entertained, it shows that both King James VI. and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, have been entertained there by the Magistrates of the city, in the palmy days of old Edinburgh :—"1598, May 2.—The 2 of Maii, the Duck of Holsten got ane banquet in M^cMorran's ludging, given by the toune of Ed^r. The Kings M. and the Queino being both y^r ther wes grate solemnitie and mirrines at the said banquet."—(Fragment of Scottish History, Diary, p. 46.)

QUEENSBERRY HOUSE.—In a foot-note at p. 78, vol. iii., it is suggested that Queensberry House occupies the site of a mansion built by the celebrated Lord Halton, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale, in 1681. The following entry in Fountainhall's Decisions, omitted, like many other of the old Judge's curious details, in the printed folio, proves that the house is the same which was built by Lord Halton, and afterwards disposed of to the first Duke of Queensberry :—

"21 Junij 1686.—By a letter from his Majesty, Queensberry is laid asyde from all his places and offices, as his place in the Treasure, Privy Counsell, Session, &c. and desired not to goe out of Toune, till he cleared his accounts. So he bought Lauderdale's House in the Cannongate."

XX. THE PILLORY.

BRANDING AND MUTILATING.—The strange and barbarous punishments recorded both by old diarists, and in the Scottish criminal records, as put in force at the Cross or Tron of Edinburgh, afford no inapt illustration of the gradual and very slow abandonment of the cruel practices of uncivilized times. In the sixteenth century, burning or branding on the cheeks, cutting off the ears, and the like savage mutilations, were adjudged for the slightest crimes or misdemeanors. On the 5th May 1530, for example, “William Kar obliissis him that he sall nocht be sene into the fische merkat, nother byand nor selland fische, vnder the pane of cutting of his lug and bannasing of the toune, bot gif he haif ane horse of his aune till bring fische to the merket till sell vniuersale as vther strangearis dois till our Souerane Lordis legis.”—(Acts and Statutes of the Burgh of Edinburgh, Mait. Misc., vol. ii. p. 101.) At this period the Greyfriars’ or Bristo Port appears to have been a usual scene for such judicial terrors. On the 1st July 1530, “Patrick Gowanlok fleschour, duelland in the Abbot of Melrosis lugying within this toune,” is banished the town for ever, under pain of death, for harbouring a woman infected with the pestilence; “And at the half of his moveable gudis be applyit to the common workis of this toune for his default, And als that his seruand woman callit Jonet Cowane, quhilik is infekkit, for hir conceling the said seiknes, and passand in pilgrimage, scho haiffand the pestilens apone hir, that scho saalbe brynt on baith the cheikis and bannist this toune for ever vnder the pane of deid. *And quha that lykis till see justice execute in this mater, that thai cum to the Grayfriar port incontinent quhar thai sall se the sumyn put till execution.*”—(Ibid, p. 106.)

DROWNING.—Of a different nature is the following scene enacted in the year 1530, without the Greyfriars’ Port, which was then an uninclosed common on the outskirts of the Borough Moor, and remained in that state till it was included within the precincts of the latest extension of the town walls in 1618. Drowning in the North Loch, and elsewhere, was a frequent punishment inflicted on females. “The quhilik day Katryne Heriot is convict be ane assise for the thiftus steling and conseling of twa stekis of bukrum within this tovne, and als of common theft, and als for the bringing of this contagious seiknes furth of Leith to this toune, and biekin of the statutis maid tharapone, For the quhilik causes scho is adiugit to be drounit in the Quarell hollis at the Grayfrere port, now incontinent, and that wes gevin for dome.”—(Ibid. p. 113.) The workmen engaged in draining the ancient bed of the North Loch in the spring of 1820, discovered a large coffin of thick fir deals, containing apparently the skeletons of a man and two women; which, says Mr Skene, in narrating the discovery, “Corresponds singularly with the fact of a man of the name of Sinclair, and two sisters, with both of whom he was convicted of having committed incest, being drowned in the North Loch in the year 1628.”—(Archæologia Scotica, vol. ii. p. 474.)

BORING PERJURERS’ TONGUES.—The Acts of Sederunt of the Court of Session abound with evidence of similar cruel practices of early times. On the 13th June 1561, Mongo Steivenston convicted of being “perjurett and main-sworn,” is ordered to be punished “be persing throw the toung, and escheiting all his movabill gudis to our Sovereine Lady’s use,” and the Provost and Magistrates are required to proceed forthwith to the Market Cross, and put the same in execution. In another case of supposed perjury, on the 29th June 1579, the King’s advocate produces a royal warrant for examining “Iohne Souttar, notar, and Robert Carmylie, vicar of Ruthwenis; and for the mair certane tryale of the veritie in the said matter, to put thaim in the buttis, genis, or ony uther tormentis, and thairby to urge thaim to declair the treuth.”

Another era was that of the Douglas wars, when the highest crime that could be committed by the peasantry of the Lothians, was the carrying provisions to the beleaguered capital; and accordingly many poor men, and a still greater number of women, were mutilated and hanged, simply for being caught bringing coals, salt, or garden stufts, to Edinburgh. Coming down, however, to more recent and peaceful times, we find similar modes of punishment adopted in the seventeenth century. In the Acts of Sederunt, 6th February 1650, “The Lords found John Lawsons, indwellar in Leith, to be a false lying witnes, and alee ane false informer of an assize; and ordaines him to be set upon the Trone ane hour, and his toung to be bored with ane yrone, and thereafter to be dismissed. And in lyke manner find John Rob to be ane false informer of witnessis; and ordain him to be set upon the Trone, and his lugg to be nailed to the Trone be the space of ane hour, and thereafter to be dismissed. And declares both the persons forsaidis to be infamous in all tyme coming; and their hail moveables to be escheat to his Majestie’s use.”

COMMONWEALTH PUNISHMENTS.—Towards the close of the year 1650, an entire change took place in the administration of justice, by the transfer of the government to the nominees of Cromwell and of the English Parliament. Their rule is generally allowed to have been impartial, but the modes of punishment in use continued to be of the same character as we have already described. Nicoll remarks in his Diary for December 1651 (p. 69):—“It was observed, that in

the Engliche army thair wes oftymes guid discipline aganes drunkinnes, fornicatioun, and uncleanes; quhipping fornicatouris, and geving thame thrie doukis in the sea, and causing drunkardis ryd the tric meir, with stoppis and muskettis tyed to thair leggis and feit, a paper on thair breist, and a drinking cop in thair handis; and by schuitting to death sindrie utheris quha haid committed mutinie."

The next entry we shall quote from the old diarist introduces us to a new crime, brought about by the political changes of that eventful period, and for which we find a novelty introduced in the mode of punishing that unruly member, *the Tongue*:—"Last of September 1652.—Twa Engliches, for drinking the Kingis health, war takin and bund to the gallous at Edinburgh Croce, quhair ather of thame resavit threttie nyne quhipes upon thair naiked bakes and shoulderis, thaireftir thair lugges wer naillit to the gallous. The ane haid his lug cuttit from the ruitt with a resour; the uther being also naillit to the gibbet, haid his mouth skolit, and his tong being drawn out the full lenth, was bund togidder betuix twa stickes hard togidder with ane skainzie threid the space of half ane hour or thairby."

One or two more notices from the same gossiping chronicle of the seventeenth century will suffice to illustrate the tender mercies of the Commonwealth rule in Edinburgh:—

"26 Marche 1655.—Mr Patrik Maxwell, ane arrant decevar, wes brocht to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair a pillorie wes erectit, gairdit and convoyed with a company of sodgeris; and thair, eftir ane full houris standing on that pillorie, with his heid and handis lyand out at hoillis cuttit out for that end, his rycht lug was cuttit af; and thaireftir careyit over to the toun of St Johnnestoun, quhair ane uther pillorie wes erectit, on the quhilk the uther left lug was cuttit af him. The caus heirof was this; that he haid gevin out fals calumneis and lewis aganes Collonell Daniell, governour of Peirth. Bot the treuth is, he was ane notorious decevar, and ane intelligencer, sumtyme for the Engliches, uther tymes for the Scottis, and decevand both of thame; besyde mony uther prankis quhilk wer tedious to writt."

"Last of Apryle 1655.—The Marschellis man, quha wes apoynted to haif cuttit Mr Patrik Maxwell hailt lug, bot being buiddit [bribed] did onlie cutt af a pairt of his lug, was thairfoir this day brocht to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and set upone the pillarie, and thair his lug boirit for not obeying his commissioun in that poynt."

"23 Marche 1657.—Thair wes ane Engliche sodger bund naikit to the gallous of Edinburgh, and first scourgit, and thaireftir his lugges naillit to the gallous by the space of ane hour or thairby, and thaireftir his lugges cuttit out of his heid for cunzieing and forging two half crounes. The quich two half crounes war festned and naillit to the gibet, quhair they remayne to this day."

These are only the minor punishments inflicted on offenders. The same annalist records hanging and burning for more heinous crimes, with painful frequency; proving either a period of unusual depravity, or of unwonted strictness in searching after secret offences that are now scarcely ever heard of before our criminal courts.

The mode of public pillory, by nailing the offender's ear to the Tron, continued in use in the eighteenth century, though it was latterly only resorted to for the punishment of graver offenders, others being simply exposed, with a label affixed to them publishing their infamy. On the 24th July 1700, as appears by the Acts of Sederunt, John Corse of Corsemiln was convicted of using a vitiated bond, the same having been altered with his knowledge, "and therefore the Lords ordain the said John to be sent to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and from thence on Friday next, before eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to be taken by the hands of the common hangman to the Tron, and there to have his ear nailed to the Tron, and to stand so nailed till twelve hours strike, and to have these words in great letters fixed on his breast, as he goes down the street, and upon the Tron, *For his knowledge of, and using a vitiate bond.*"

NOSE PINCHING.—The following notices of a still later date show the same process of nailing continued, with the addition of an entirely novel means of torture, called Nose Pinching. This, we presume, must have been effected by screwing some instrument like a hand-vice on the nose, which, in addition to the acute pain it inflicted, must have presented a singularly ludicrous appearance to the by-standers, as the culprit stood nailed to the post with his *pincher* dangling from his nose, hugging as it were, the instruments of his torture. The following notices are extracted from a "List of Precedents excerpte from the Records of Warrands to vouch the use and exercise of the Town of Edinburgh's Jurisdiction of Sheriffship by the Lord Provost and Baillies."

"29th October 1723.—The Trial and process against James Stewart, alias M'Pherson, a vagrant thief, whipt and sent to the Correction House for life."

"28 December 1726.—The Trial against George Melvil, notour thief; set on the trone, and his nose pinch'd."

"17 October 1727.—The Trial against David Allison for theft. Pillar'd, pinch'd in the nose, and sent to the Correction House."

"29 March 1728.—The Trial against Jean Spence, notour thief; pillar'd, her lug nailed, and her nose pinched."

XXI. JAMES CRAIG, ARCHITECT. PLAN OF THE NEW TOWN.

SINCE the account of the early features of the New Town, (vol. ii. pp. 149-156) passed through the press, we have been favoured, through the kindness of David Laing, Esq., with the original plate of James Craig's "Plan of the New Streets and Squares intended for the City of Edinburgh," published in the year 1763, and dedicated to his Majesty George III. It will be seen that it is even more formal and insipid than the square blocks of houses which have been erected according to its scheme, and can hardly fail to be acknowledged by every one as singularly destitute either of inventive ingenuity or adaptation to the natural features of the ground. The North Loch was designed to be preserved in the form of a *long canal*, in accordance with the motto selected by him from his uncle's poem on Liberty, and its banks are laid out on both sides in formal avenues and squares, repeating the parallelograms of the neighbouring streets. The site of James's Square, Shakspeare Square, Leith Street, and all the grand improvements to the eastward, remains in a state of nature, St Ninian's Row extending its unbroken range to the foot of Leith Street. St Andrew's Church appears as occupying the site originally intended for it, on the open ground in front of the mansion afterwards built by Sir Laurence Dundas, on the east side of St Andrew Square, and now occupied as the Royal Bank of Scotland. It was designed, in accordance with the studied regularity of the whole plan, to form a counterpart to St George's Church in Charlotte Square, or *St George's Square*, as it was named before the rival extension over the southern districts pre-occupied the term. The building of St Andrew's Church on its present site was suggested at a later period, as an appropriate counterpoise to the Physicians' Hall, erected in 1775. We are not aware if any of the competing plans for the extended royalty are now in existence, but one is led to wonder wherein their shortcomings and errors consisted, that the plan of James Craig was judged so eminently superior. It is not altogether improbable that some of them might appear to our more modern experience as preferable to the adopted design, since it is quite certain that none of them could outdo it in formality and sameness of idea. The enthusiasm of Craig's patrons, however, abundantly evinced their conviction that they were honouring a genius of no common order. He was presented with a gold medal bearing the city arms, and a suitable inscription, and received along with it the freedom of the city in a silver box. One idea is peculiarly apparent from many circumstances attending the first proceedings in carrying out the New Town, namely, that the design then adopted was complete in itself. The old citizens who had been born, and had passed a long lifetime, in the unchanging alleys of the ancient capital, conceived that, in building a New Town, it was to be completed according to their notions, and then to endure for centuries with the same unalterable pertinacity as had characterized its venerable precursor. The very name of York Place serves to preserve the notion they entertained, that the south side of that street was to be the extreme northern boundary of the extended royalty, looking out on an uninterrupted view towards the sea; and to the same idea we are in some degree indebted for the Queen Street gardens, which now form so beautiful and valuable a feature of the New Town. It may be presumed, indeed, that the courageous adventurers who first began to build on these remote outskirts of modern civilization, as little dreamt of extending buildings interrupting their view, as an inhabitant of Brighton Parade, or the builder of a marine villa on the sands of Portobello, could anticipate some daring speculator rearing houses between him and the sea!

Mr Laing has in his possession a full length portrait of James Craig, painted probably by Martin. He is seated, and surveying with much complacency his plan of the New Town, with the proposed Circus in the centre of George Street mentioned in the next paragraph, while an elevation of his great work, the Physicians' Hall, which he believed was to hand down his name with honour to posterity, is spread out at his feet, with a landscape view in the back-ground of the picture. It is an amusing example of the vanity of the best laid schemes for future honour and fame. Already the *chaste Grecian architecture* of this Temple of Esculapius has been swept away with the same remorseless zeal with which its designer contemplated the supplanting and final extermination of the ancient Scottish capital. It was a building of considerable grace and harmony of proportions, though exhibiting no originality in its design, and a great lack of contrivance in its incommodious internal arrangements; the noble proportions of the portico of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, which now occupies its site, leave little cause to mourn over the demolition of James Craig's *magnum opus*.

Mr Laing possesses an impression of the plan of the New Town, as altered by Craig in 1774. The most prominent point in which it differs from the design finally adopted, consists in the introduction, at the intersection of Frederick Street with George Street, of a circus with an equestrian statue in the centre, a feature which would have greatly improved the long formal vista extending from St Andrew's Square to Charlotte Square; but the critics of the eighteenth century probably preferred the dull uniformity which contrasted so strikingly with the picturesque variety of their despised and superannuated retreats in the Old Town. Various other changes were effected on the original plan, ere it assumed permanent shape even on paper. The good citizens, with becoming loyalty to their old patron saint, decided on naming the new terrace that was to adorn the northern bank of the North Loch, St Giles Street; but when "the Plan of the new streets and squares, intended for His ancient capital of North Britain," was submitted to

George III. as a great national undertaking worthy of his Majesty's patronage, the King at once objected to a dedication *so plebeian*, according to the notions of the southern capital, and it was accordingly named Prince's Street, in honour of the heir apparent to the throne.

The Sister Arts are represented on the plate assembled round the ornamental tablet inscribed with its name; and while Architecture places above it a shield bearing the arms of Edinburgh, winged cherubs are descending and crowning the divine sisterhood with wreaths of flowers, in honour of their grand achievement;—so complacently did architect and citizens unite in their admiration of this common-place design!

James Craig, architect, was the son of William Craig, merchant in Edinburgh, and Mary, youngest sister of James Thomson, the author of the Seasons; we are not aware what were the advantages he enjoyed as a student of architecture, but his plan for the New Town appears to have first brought him into notice. Only six years before the commencement of the works beyond the North Loch, Sir Robert Mylne was employed to furnish the design for St Cecilia's Hall, in the Cowgate. It was built after the model of the great theatre Farnese at Parma, and though now long deserted by the votaries of St Cecilia, it was admirably adapted for the purposes of a concert-room; its oval form and elliptical ceiling, as well as the skilful arrangement of the seats, uniting to convey every note clear and distinct to the auditors. In this respect the great Music Hall of the New Town is decidedly inferior, notwithstanding the lapse of above eighty years since the building of St Cecilia's Hall, and the great attention devoted in the interval to the practical application of acoustics in architecture. The professional skill of Craig was almost entirely exercised on the private dwellings of the first emigrants to the extended royalty; and such of these as have escaped remodelling, in the rapid changes of taste and uses that have taken place of late years, exhibit little that is calculated to gratify the eye. In 1786 he issued a quarto pamphlet illustrated with engravings, containing a scheme for remodelling the Old Town. The principal novelty proposed by him is an Octagon at the intersection of the North and South Bridges with the High Street, having the Tron Church in the centre. The elevations which he furnishes for the proposed buildings are in very questionable taste. Beyond this, his plan exhibits a Crescent, stretching across the South Bridge, from the foot of Infirmary Street to the Horse Wynd. "The figure of the Crescent," says the author, "embraces the University and the Royal Infirmary, and would represent the city, like an open, generous friend, with extended arms, giving a hearty welcome to all strangers from the south!" It was a period when a mania for *improving* the Old Town raged like some contagious distemper; no wonder that the designer of the New Town should have been smitten by it. Fortunately, however, it was easier to improve in theory and on paper, than practically on old masonry. The proportions and ornamental details of Craig's great work, the Physicians' Hall, indicated a practical acquaintance with ancient models, beyond which comparatively few of our modern architects ever venture. He died in Edinburgh, on the 23d of June 1795.

In contrast to the original design of James Craig, the accompanying plan of Edinburgh and Leith, as they existed about the year 1828,—with all the projected improvements at that period, when the designs for the demolition of the West Bow were only under consideration,—will serve as a means of reference for nearly all the localities alluded to in the course of the Work. We have already referred the reader to Edgar's map, which has been repeatedly engraved, as by far the best key to the Old Town of Edinburgh, as it existed in the earlier part of the last century, before its ancient features were encroached upon by alterations and improvements which have opened up its long unbroken ranges of *lands* with successive avenues from the north and south. The map which accompanies this Work, though on much too small a scale to afford the same facilities for reference to the important closes and mansions of the Old Town, will enable the reader to perceive at a glance the relative positions of nearly all the chief localities pointed out in the previous descriptions. A history of the ancient capital of Scotland cannot be considered complete, without including many important features extending beyond its straitened limits. The town of Leith has, at every eventful period, been intimately linked with the fortunes of the neighbouring city, and cannot but be regarded as forming a part of the capital of which it is the port. The town of Restalrig, the burgh of Broughton, and the several villages now inclosed within the New Town, all belong to the ancient suburban features of the Scottish capital; and the description which has been given of the site of the New Town, and of its very singular antiquities, renders its present appearance a fit illustration to these pages. All these features are included in this map, which serves also to exhibit in some degree the striking contrast between the New and Old Town, though it is impossible, by means of any plan, to convey to a stranger a correct idea of the peculiar characteristics of the Scottish capital, arising from the singular inequalities of its site.

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- | | |
|---|---|
| a. <i>Grammar School</i> | m. <i>Leith Bank</i> |
| b. <i>Public House</i> | n. <i>British Linen Comp^y Bank</i> |
| c. <i>F^r Burgher Meeting House</i> | o. <i>Signal Tower</i> |
| d. <i>2^d Burgher Ditto</i> | p. <i>Custom House & Excise Office</i> |

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[In Part I. of this Work, the incidents are related in chronological order; and in Part II., according to a systematic arrangement indicated in the headings of the several Chapters. By a reference to the Contents at the commencement of Volume I., any historical event, or the description of a particular locality may be readily found. The Index is intended as a guide to incidental notices throughout these Volumes; and, to render it more complete, all noblemen mentioned merely by their titles in the course of the Work, are here distinguished from one another by their proper names, and other individuals generally by some distinctive title or description.]

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ERRATA.

VOLUME I.

- Page
3. Line 2 from foot—for *Reformation*, read *Revolution*.
5. Line 28—insert *Patrick* before *Earl of March*.
13. Line 1—for *Henry VI.* read *Henry IV.*
31. Line 14 from foot—for *the general historical incidents*, read *the leading historical incidents*.
31. Line 17 from foot—for *hasten on*, read *hasten*.
47. Chapter head—for *accession of James VI. to the English Throne*, read *abdiction of Queen Mary*.
96. Line 1—for *Byres' Close*, read *Sellars' Close*.
96. Line 2—for *presenting a semi-hexagonal front, &c.*, on to *heraldic bearings*, read *which forms a prominent feature in the view of the Old Town from the north, having two terraced roofs at different elevations, guarded by a neatly coped parapet wall*.
101. Line 9—for *foot of Blackfriars' Wynd*, read *the Netherbow*.
111. Line 16 from foot—*Dele, and there, after bivouacing*, to the end of the sentence.
118. Line 5—for *as a regular*, read *as if a regular*.
125. Last line—for 1633, read 1617.
144. Line 9—after *Killicrankie*, add,—*by running away!*
153. Line 1 of foot note—for *Maitland's*, read *Maitland*.
153. Line 4 of foot note—for *College of Edinburgh*, read *College of Justice*.
168. Line 27—for *the year 1598*, read *the year 1595*.
178. Line 6 from foot—for *Sir Marcus Prince*, read *Sir Magnus Prince*.

VOLUME II.

7. Line 11—for *the daughter*, read *the sister*. See Appendix VII.
25. *Dele* line 1.
45. Line 20, in a few copies—for *the initials J. H.*, read *G. H.*
45. Line 26—for *Broughton Place*, read *Broughton Street*.
81. Line 11—for *Dugald Stuart*, read *Dugald Stewart*.
149. Line 16—for *New Circus*, read *Royal Circus*.
151. Line 13 from foot—for *entwined Island*, read *enliven'd Isle*.
202. Line 12 from foot—for *east end*, read *west end*.
204. Line 18 from foot—for *initials J. G.*, read *J. C.*
210. Line 4 from foot—for *Browne's play*, read *Brome's play*.
222. Line 4 from foot, in a few copies—for *a century before*, read *half a century before*.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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